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# *The Shape of Things*

WHO IS TO ADMINISTER FRANCE AFTER THE invasion? The President stated last week that he had reached a decision on this subject but refused to say what it was. According to persistent reports in Washington, which unfortunately are backed by a good deal of indirect evidence, the plan is to give General Eisenhower the responsibility of allowing or not allowing the French Committee of National Liberation to reorganize civil affairs in France. He will be free, it is said, to deal with the committee or any other group according to the requirements of military expediency. If such a plan is really put into effect, it will be an invitation to anarchy. Allied headquarters will become the fount of political power attracting a swarm of thirsty intriguers and self-seekers with the Vichy functionaries well to the fore. Such groups will be hoping to get an opportunity to carry on the political and business rackets in which they have engaged under German protection. But they have nothing to offer us and to treat with them would be to arouse a violent reaction from the men who have been fighting and suffering to free France. We shall badly need the support of an orderly civil administration and the only authority with popular credentials is the National Committee of Liberation. In his speech on March 18 to the Consultative Assembly at Algiers, General de Gaulle said: "Every effort to maintain the Vichy power either in partial or camouflaged form or to maintain any artificial creation of powers besides those of the government (the National Committee) would be intolerable and condemned in advance." Is it "expedient" to ignore this warning?

*

THE UKRAINIAN HARVEST WILL NO DOUBT be below normal next fall but it will be a harvest reaped by Russians for Russians. The great German looting expedition to the East is drawing to a close as the beaten German soldiers retreat beyond the Dniester and drag themselves through the Bessarabian mud. Their sojourn in the promised land has proved brief and bloody. By Hitler's orders they held on desperately, and too long, to their last strongholds in the South, but as the Red Army cut one line of communications after another they were forced into disorderly retreat. Now they are leaving behind them forever the rich farms and orchards of the Ukraine, the coal, iron ore, and manganese on which

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German industry was to wax fat. We wonder what will be the effect on morale when the German people realize that there is nothing to show for their millions of dead and maimed; that there is going to be no *Lebensraum* in the East, no future butter to compensate for twelve years of cannon. It is not surprising that the German peace offensive should be reopening. Hitler's only remaining hope is to split the United Nations, and to this end he is probably putting out feelers East and West simultaneously.

*

THE REPLIES COMING IN FROM GOVERNORS to the President's questions on the Eastland-Rankin bill as passed by Congress are confused and confusing, but they make one thing clear. The anti-Roosevelt brigade is determined to make it as difficult as possible for soldiers to vote in 1944 lest they vote for the President. If the states'-rights cry against the original Green-Lucas bill was genuine, one would expect the Governors to show their sincerity by calling special sessions to permit use of the alternative federal short ballot permitted by the Eastland-Rankin bill. But judging from the replies of many Governors, the silence of others, and the monstrosity passed at Albany under Governor Dewey's direction, Republican and anti-New Deal Governors are not interested in exercising those well-advertised states' rights to insure a soldier vote. Fewer than half a dozen states have given statutory recognition to the federal ballot provided in the bill, and not more than half a dozen more seem prepared to do so. The President has said that if replies from the Governors indicate that fewer soldiers are likely to vote under the Eastland-Rankin bill than under the Soldiers' Vote Act of 1942, he will veto the bill. The act of 1942, for all its shortcomings, at least waives registration and poll-tax provisions on soldier ballots.

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THE CHICAGO *TRIBUNE'S* LATEST ATTACK IS directed at Australia. "Rather than carping about the pay of American soldiers," it declared in a recent editorial, "the Australians had better be getting into the Pacific war themselves. They still retain severe restrictions against sending drafted troops beyond the area of Australia's direct interest." Australians naturally have resented this insult, but they may comfort themselves with the reflection that they are in good company. For when it comes to ally-baiting, Colonel McCormick plays no favorites: they are all enemies to him. To anyone who knows anything about Australia's war record the suggestion that it is not yet in the war is so outrageous as to be almost funny. Out of a population of little over 7,000,000 it has 858,960 men in its fighting services —practically two out of every three males between eighteen and forty years. The equivalent figure for this country would be more than 16,000,000 and we are a long way short of that. It is true that drafted men may not be sent outside the Commonwealth unless they volunteer, but no fewer than 86 per cent have volunteered for service anywhere. Up to the end of 1943, the Australian army, excluding the air force and the navy, had suffered 65,890 casualties. An equivalent figure for the American army, on a comparative population basis, would be in excess of 1,200,000. Our actual total through February 23, as reported by Secretary of War Stimson, is 121,458. We are sure that General MacArthur appreciates these facts and would not indorse the *Tribune* slander. He knows, although the American public is not aware of it, that a large part of the burden of the campaign in the New Guinea jungles has been borne by Australians, who far outnumber the American troops employed there.

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REPRESENTATIVE JESSIE SUMNER MIGHT BE annoyed if we called her an isolationist, and, indeed, she is so nearly ready to declare war on Russia that the description is no longer appropriate. But she surely would not object to being called a constitutionalist, since she, in common with her America First friends, is always attacking the President as a betrayer of the Constitution. We would like to suggest, however, that she might be better equipped for her task if she were to study our organic law a little more carefully. For she seems to be ignorant of the fact that under the Constitution the President is empowered to act as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This power cannot be usurped by the legislative branch. Nevertheless, Miss Sumner has introduced two bills, one directing a postponement of the invasion of Europe, the other ordering the coordination of all American forces in the war against Japan under the command of General MacArthur. This second measure further provides that no forces shall be withdrawn from this theater without the General's consent and that all men and materials he requests shall be turned over to him. We hardly suppose that Congress will give these bills another thought since they trespass so blatantly on the province of the Executive. But if they ever get to the committee stage we hope Admiral Nimitz is summoned as a witness. We should like to hear his unvarnished and probably unprintable comments on the second bill.

*

SHORTAGE OF MAN-POWER ON THE EVE OF invasion will doubtless come as a rude shock to those who have opposed national service on the ground that we were over the hump so far as man-power was concerned. It is true that the shortage is concentrated in relatively few areas, chiefly on the West Coast, and that in other parts of the country cutbacks have created a temporary labor surplus. But in the absence of a national-service law the man-power authorities have no means of compelling people to leave the areas of sur-

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plus to seek jobs where they are needed. And employers complain of increasing difficulty in persuading women to take war jobs. As the prospect for victory increases, this problem is bound to become more serious. Already tens of thousands of men and women are reported to have quit war work in order to have first chance at what they hope will be a permanent occupation. Local chambers of commerce have tried to revive local consumer-goods industries in order to prevent workers released by cutbacks from seeking war jobs in other cities. Each day's favorable war news brings an intensification of business-as-usual pressure, from both employers and workers. The singleness of mind which made the conversion to war production possible without national service is no longer a dominant factor. Thus we may expect our home-front difficulties to become increasingly acute at a moment when many people have been looking forward to some easing of the pressure.

*

THE LACK OF A CLEAR SELECTIVE-SERVICE policy has been highlighted recently by a series of seemingly conflicting orders regarding the deferment of essential workers in war industries. An order calling for a review of all occupational deferments was followed by another virtually suspending deferments for men under twenty-six but permitting men over that age to remain in their present classifications. At first these orders were interpreted as relaxing somewhat the pressure for the induction of fathers, but later statements by General Hershey indicate that more fathers than ever are needed to fill draft quotas. The most unfortunate aspect of the situation seems to be the disappearance of any effort to dovetail the requirements of war industries with those of the military services. The steel industry has been warned that the army and navy will no longer permit deferments even if it means curtailing war production. Complaints from the West Coast indicate that draft boards are taking highly skilled men, such as aeronautical engineers, who are "completely irreplaceable." Some of the blame for the existing confusion should be placed on the War Manpower Commission for its failure to insist on the training of suitable substitutes for the men now being drafted. The local draft boards should also be held accountable for their failure to draft pre-Pearl Harbor fathers on schedule, thus increasing the pressure on occupational deferments. But the chief culprit in the present crisis is Congress, which light-heartedly sabotaged the War Manpower Commission's efforts to direct pre-Pearl Harbor fathers into the war industries. And as a result of a blanket Congressional exemption for farm labor, some 570,000 young men in the eighteen-to-twenty-six group are kept out of the service at a time when highly skilled men of similar age are being drawn from the war plants.

# *Stalin and Badoglio*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

STALIN'S recognition of the Badoglio government must mean something or other. The Soviet government does not act inconsequentially; indeed, its severest critics concede—or charge—that its policy is dictated by a degree of calculating self-interest seldom reached by other governments. But just how Russia's interests have been served by its recognition of Badoglio's decrepit regime, nobody seems to know. One thing alone is certain. By his latest diplomatic maneuver Stalin has pleased neither the British-American authorities who set up the Italian puppet government nor the democratic elements who oppose it.

Several writers have suggested that Russia's move may be less important than it looks from this side of the world. For many years the State Department has used recognition as a diplomatic weapon, an instrument of intervention, a way of achieving political ends without committing an overt act. The Soviet Union is more matter of fact. It has consistently maintained relations with any de facto government which wished to have relations with it. Badoglio's government, however feeble, is the only going concern in Italy; it is the only thing one can do business with. And Russia intends to do business in Italy. By establishing diplomatic representation in Italy Stalin will have an independent agency through which he can exercise whatever influence or get whatever information seems to him desirable. The British and Americans obviously resent such premature and unilateral diplomacy. But it is hard to see how they can openly object. Badoglio is their man. Nobody else chose him; nobody else wants him; and they have turned over to him the administration of the entire liberated territory.

But while Stalin's desire to have a say in Italy may be a factor in his recognition of Badoglio, I cannot believe it is the chief one. The whole sequence of events points to other, more serious motives. In the long run Stalin cannot want a reactionary regime in Italy any more than he wants Pétain in France or Franco in Spain. One of the surest guaranties of a new war against Russia would be the establishment of a bloc of clerical-fascist states in Western Europe to serve as the nucleus of an anti-Soviet European policy. Stalin's best bet in Italy is the republican elements represented in the six parties now united against the Badoglio government. To repudiate this political force would be an irresponsible act if no more lay behind it than a desire to play a bigger role in Italy.

European democrats with whom I have talked are puzzled. Most of them feel let down and alarmed. So certain were they that Russia would continue to back popular elements in Europe that the recognition of Badoglio is looked upon as a form of treason. One of the strongest and

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best of the Italian anti-fascist leaders, Randolfo Pacciardi, put his opinion in writing. He pointed out that the British were now the dominating element in the Mediterranean. Political decisions are still subordinated to military ones, and the military command is in the hands of the British. Stalin's move, he said, might be an attempt to thrust himself into the situation, or it might serve to confirm an agreement made at Teheran. Pacciardi went on:

> The Italian anti-Fascists unanimously protested against Churchill's speech of February 22, which recognized as "legitimate" the government of Badoglio and the King. A strike was organized at Naples which was later transformed into a meeting of protest. The day after the meeting Stalin officially recognized the Badoglio government. The slap given to the anti-Fascist parties—Communists included—is evident. Churchill's plan for a "legitimate" government has been reinforced despite American objections. . . . There is no doubt that in the complicated game of international competition the discredited regime of the King and Badoglio threatens to establish itself. Russia's gesture cannot help but create discouragement and disorientation among the Italian democratic forces, which consider the suspension of the monarchy and the creation of a provisional government essential for the rebirth of the nation. The united front of the forces of the left will go on if the Communists are able to continue their anti-monarchical action in Italy in spite of Russia's act. There is no doubt that the Republicans and Socialists will intensify their agitation against the monarchy.

Russia is supremely capable of pursuing two or more apparently conflicting policies at once; this was demonstrated during the period of the pact with Hitler. In the light of all the events since Teheran it seems probable that the Soviet government is again performing a double if not a triple play. It is edging closer into the Italian situation; at the same time it has acknowledged British-American supremacy there, in exchange for Britain's acceptance of Russia's preeminence in the Balkans (this mutual understanding would not rule out Stalin's interest in Italy any more than it prevents Churchill from attempting to graft Peter onto the Tito regime in Yugoslavia); at the same time Russia may well be encouraging, *sub terra,* a continued popular opposition to Badoglio, or at least be looking forward to his overthrow when northern Italy is reconquered. All these ingredients may be present in the intricate mixture which makes up the foreign policy of the Soviet government, but one fact, stressed by Colonel Pacciardi, emerges above all the speculative possibilities. By recognizing Badoglio Stalin has strengthened the reaction and undermined the anti-Fascist forces; he has done this just at the moment when the resistance to the monarchy most desperately needed reinforcement. If this is the price he had to pay for acceptance of his claims in the Balkans, one can only say that inflation in Italy has reached a new high.

# *A Guild Victory*

FREEDOM of the press is one of our most important constitutional guaranties, but it does not place publishers above the law. That truth ought perhaps to be self-evident, but it has once again had to be reaffirmed by the War Labor Board under a ruling to the effect that an order under the War Labor Disputes Act providing for maintenance of union membership as a condition of employment is not an abridgment of freedom of the press in contravention of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The issue arose in the course of hearings before a WLB panel on a union security-contract dispute between the American Newspaper Guild and the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Patriot,* and was referred to the full board for decision as a test case. Intervening as interested parties were, among others, the New York *Times,* the Washington *Star,* the New York *World-Telegram,* and *Time, Life* and *Fortune.*

In arguing their case, the publishers could not contend that membership maintenance or even a closed shop violated the First Amendment, for dozens of them have signed contracts in the past containing these provisions. They had to rely, therefore, on the theory that union maintenance became a danger to freedom of the press when enforced by order of a government agency. Chairman William H. Davis of the board made short work of this contention in writing the majority opinion, signed by all the public and labor members. He pointed out that the question whether Congress had power to vest in a government agency any control over conditions of newspaper employment was settled by the Supreme Court in 1937 when the Associated Press lost its appeal against a NLRB decision.

Mr. Davis also dealt faithfully with the publishers' claim that a maintenance-of-membership clause "would give the guild power to have a member discharged from his job and so would increase the power of the guild to influence the opinions and professional writings of the editorial employee or reporter." In this connection Mr. Davis quoted the Guild's constitution, which provides that no eligible person can be barred from membership or otherwise penalized because of his convictions "or because of anything he writes for publication." Such a provision, he continued, becomes a standard of judgment for the impartial arbitrator provided for in the board's maintenance-of membership clause. Moreover, as he pointed out, the clause in no way alters a publisher's rights to hire, fire, and wield a blue pencil. However, as an additional safeguard, the board's order declared that any maintenance-of-membership clause in the publishing industry must include a provision giving any member who claims he has been expelled or penalized by the Guild

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on account of his convictions or writings the absolute right to present his case to the impartial arbitrator.

While concurring in the decision, the labor members of the board in a separate opinion deplored this precaution as both unnecessary and dangerous in tendency. They also attacked sharply the dissenting opinion of the industry members who had suggested that "few Guild members could fail to unconsciously slant their writing regarding their own or another union. The labor members observed tartly that they "would be deeply grateful if many newspaper publishers were as careful to *print* labor news as impartially as their reporters write it."

There, indeed, they put a finger on the real danger to the First Amendment today—control of the press by a small group of men who are nearly all on one side of the economic fence. Freedom is not lost when newspapermen are protected in their employment, but it can be smothered by a monopoly of news and opinion.

# *Peace Terms for Japan*

## II. ECONOMIC

IN DISCUSSING the military aspects of the peace terms to be imposed upon Japan, we noted that there is little difference of opinion regarding the necessity for military safeguards to minimize the danger of a new drive for world domination in twenty or thirty years. But military precautions will mean little unless they are accompanied by economic and political measures designed to undercut the power of the military clique and redirect Japan's energies along peaceful lines.

For security reasons some experts advocate that Japanese industry either be destroyed altogether or be shipped to China to aid that country in its reconstruction. Others would leave the industrial structure virtually intact, but try to encourage its conversion to the production of civilian goods.

Neither proposal is practicable. The population of Japan cannot possibly be supported by an agricultural and handicraft economy alone. At present at least 60 per cent of Japan's 75,000,000 people are urban, and it is reliably estimated that abolition of Japanese industry would condemn at least a quarter of the population to death by starvation. Before submitting to such terms, the Japanese would undoubtedly fight to the last man.

On the other hand, Japan's present industrial establishment is ill adapted to peace-time requirements. The development of heavy industries to meet war needs has thrown the whole economy badly out of balance. Only if Japan is permitted to retain its naval and military establishment, or is encouraged to play a dominant economic role in Asiatic industrial development, could these heavy industries be maintained. Since either course would play into the hands of the militarists, it is evident that Japan's economy must be subjected to drastic reorganization.

The extent of this reorganization will depend partly on the degree to which Japanese industry is destroyed by bombing. If, as seems not unlikely, all the essential war industries are pulverized before the Japanese government capitulates, no drastic industrial terms will be needed in the peace treaty. Deprived of the sources of cheap raw materials in the empire and of an assured market in the Japanese army and navy, and facing the competition of new Chinese industries in Manchuria, Japan could hardly reconstruct its heavy industries. But if they survive the war relatively intact, steps will have to be taken to force a dismantling of at least part of them. For reasons of security we shall have to demand that all facilities for airplane or warship construction be destroyed. Ultimately, the overexpanded Japanese steel and machine industries will have to be reduced, preferably by control over exports, to a size that can be justified by domestic civilian requirements. These restrictions might, however, be imposed gradually. For the first two years, while Japanese industry is in process of conversion, some plants might be used to provide China with machinery, rails, and transport equipment as reparation for the destruction inflicted by the Japanese armies. And as unused factories are closed down, their facilities, instead of being destroyed, might be shipped to China, the Philippines, and the East Indies to speed up the industrialization of those countries. Enough heavy industry should be left to supply an expanding consumer-goods industry.

Although some such readjustment in Japanese industry is essential to the development of a sound peace economy in Japan, more positive economic measures will be needed to encourage the growth of democratic forces inside the country. There may be a fairly extended period in which the United Nations will have to give food and other assistance to the victims of this forced reconversion. But the main emphasis of our policies must be upon helping the Japanese to develop a welfare economy in place of their present war economy. They must be given an opportunity to improve their living standards so as to remove the feeling that they are being oppressed by the Western powers. This will necessitate some concessions on our part. If, as is generally agreed, the Japanese Empire is dissolved, steps must be taken to see that Japan is guaranteed full access to the raw materials it needs for its consumer-goods industries. And it must be assured a market for its products so that it may obtain foreign exchange with which to buy necessary supplies from abroad. This means that many of the pre-war laws discriminating against Japanese consumer products must be repealed.

Without doubt there will be complaints that cheap Japanese labor will offer unfair competition. These can be silenced, however, if a provision is inserted in the peace treaty compelling Japanese industrialists to accept

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minimum standards of wages, hours, working conditions, and guaranties of the rights of collective bargaining as drawn up by the International Labor Organization. Such a requirement would tend to break down the rigid class structure of Japan, thus undermining the peculiarly unhealthy conditions which led to the rise of Japanese imperialism. And by increasing working-class purchasing power it should strengthen the democratic element in the country and bring to the pinched masses more prosperity than militarism has ever provided.

# *Millionaires' Beveridge Plan*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, March 17*

*THIS Much Gained:* The March issue of the National City Bank's excellent monthly letter makes an important observation in discussing the Baruch-Hancock report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies and the Senate's George committee report on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. The bank points out that nothing comparable to these studies was prepared during or after the First World War. "If there had been," the bank says, "it is likely that the wide swings in production, employment, and prices between 1919 and 1922 might have been moderated."

The Baruch-Hancock report reflects (1) the hold that the idea of planning has taken on the entire community and (2) the determination of Wall Street and big business to do the planning. Now that the National Resources Planning Board has been safely interred and largely forgotten, the old campaign to disparage planning has died out, and the right wing in both Congress and the Executive branch has taken over the job.

*Planning Still Limited.* Planning, as envisaged by big business, is still of the most elementary sort, and covers only the job of winding up the economic side of the war. Big business would provide an umbrella in the transition from war to peace but isn't prepared to make any but the most trivial repairs in the leaky roof of our peace-time economy. "With peace . . . ," the report says, "each has the right to make what he pleases. Governmental direction and aid disappear. The markets become free"; that is, free from governmental but not from private restriction.

The Baruch-Hancock report plans first for the difficult but relatively minor job of contract termination. While it is very important not to bog business men down in red tape and to pay them as quickly as possible, it would also seem important to protect the government from inflated claims. The report approaches this problem from the business side. It says that audit of claims by the Comptroller General would "quibble the nation into a panic." The report would limit the Comptroller General's review powers to cases of fraud. Fraud is a narrow legal concept, and review of such cases is inadequate protection in dealing with the complex accounting items involved in war-contract claims. This loose arrangement, plus the 6 per cent profit allowed on uncompleted work and the 2 per cent on unprocessed inventory (material on which no work at all has been done), would seem to open the door to millions in extra and undeserved profits.

Although at one point the report proposes direct payments to subcontractors at the discretion of procurement agencies, the principal procedure it recommends would seem to leave the big prime contractors "free to make their own settlements with subcontractors." The payment of subcontractors is not an easy problem, but a report reflecting the point of view of small rather than big business would have tried to work out ways to protect the subcontractor and speed payment to him.

*Reconversion.* Considering the deflated condition of the machine-tool industry, the recommendation that manufacturers be allowed in advance to obtain the tools needed for reconversion would seem to be sound. Baruch would place great power in the hands of the Industry Advisory Committees, in reconversion as in the disposal of surplus property. These committees have not been too representative in the past. The report suggests that the "advice" of the Smaller War Plants Corporation "should be drawn upon to make certain that small business is effectively represented on the Industry Advisory Committees." This pious injunction is likely to be ignored. Why not give the Smaller War Plants Corporation power to nominate small-business representatives to every Business Advisory Committee? One of the most important and dangerous recommendations in the report is that wartime suspension of the anti-trust laws be extended to the reconversion period to protect these committees. If they meet to plan the expansion of production, no such protection is needed; the anti-trust laws only forbid restraint of trade. If they meet to plan the restriction of production, no such protection should be granted.

*The Heart of the Report.* I leave to more trusting souls the task of dwelling on the social demagogy in the report, on what the boys in the poolroom would call its rich coating of applesauce, and come now to the heart of it, the disposal of surplus property.

The background of the problem is this: The New Deal has provided no safeguards against a post-war depression; social insurance won't do here what it failed

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to do in Britain and Germany. War-time spending has concealed our fundamental economic difficulties, and war-time technological progress has intensified them by enormously increasing the productivity of labor. The basic change is the huge expansion of productive plant and the fact that most of this is government-owned. In a sane production-for-use economy this increased plant would automatically raise living standards to unprecedented levels. In a sensible capitalist economy, actually concerned with the preservation of free enterprise, government-owned plants would be used as competitive yardsticks to break monopolistic restrictions on the market, a task two generations of trust-busting has been unable to accomplish.

The Baruch-Hancock recommendations, the executive order setting up the Surplus War Property Policy Board, and the man chosen as Surplus War Property Administrator are a triple-plated guaranty that no such use will be made of government plants. Will Clayton, the man picked as administrator, is an old associate of Jesse Jones, an international operator in cotton, an ex-Liberty Leaguer. The War Property Board, made up of top officials, has only advisory power under the executive order, and the Baruch-Hancock report firmly closes the door on any possible yardstick use of government plants. Jesse Jones emerges as the most important figure in the setup. His lieutenant is the administrator; Jones himself sits on the policy board; and the actual disposal of government plants is delegated to the RFC.

The speed with which the Baruch-Hancock report was released, and implemented by executive orders and appointments, all within the space of a single week-end, had the earmarks of a kind of right-wing economic coup to head off action by Congress on the Murray-George bill for an Office of Economic Demobilization. There isn't much to choose between Baruch and George, but the bill would provide a little more protection for the public interest. Under the bill the Attorney General would have some actual power to check monopolistic disposal of plants; aircraft, synthetic-rubber, aluminum, and magnesium plants would be placed in a special category on which action would await further discussion in Congress; no surplus property could be destroyed without a two-thirds' vote of the proposed seven-man National Demobilization Board. The George report, bad as it is, calls for consultation with labor and agriculture as well as with business in the handling of all demobilization problems; neither has a place in the Baruch-Hancock recommendations.

*The Work Director.* The biggest phony in this setup is the office of Work Director. This is supposed to be the place where the returning soldier "can go in dignity and where he can be told of his rights and how he can get them." The Work Director is supposed to be a man "of proven executive capacity . . . business sagacity . . . character . . . great courage." I can see no resemblance whatsoever between this portrait and the man chosen. Brigadier General F. T. Hines is a mediocre reactionary, a hangover from the Coolidge-Hoover era, and notorious in Washington for his opposition to work relief. His appointment makes the job a kind of cruel joke.

## *25 Years Ago in "The Nation"*

IT IS WORTH RECORDING that an extremely liberal constitution for the German republic has passed its second reading in the Weimar Assembly; that a coalition Cabinet of seven Socialists, three Democrats, and three Centrists has been elected; that Herr Ebert, almost without opposition, has been chosen President.—*March 1, 1919.*

FROM THE RHINE to the Yellow River the world is in a state of unrest and revolution. The next step in the German development none can tell. Russia is a vast experiment station for half a hundred new economic and social undertakings. From the Caucasus and Central Asia we hear reports of violent outbreaks. The Emir of Afghanistan has just been murdered. India, which is kept hidden from our curious gaze by the high defensive wall of a strict censorship, suffers from vast strikes, the first sign of a concerted nationalistic movement, while China is maintaining a perilous balance between Japanese aggression and revolutionary separatism.—*March 8, 1919.*

THE DISQUIETING NEWS comes from Paris that the statesmen there assembled have definitely resolved to crush Bolshevism in Russia by force of arms. . . . Have they not yet discovered that the intervention of last August in Russia only strengthened the Soviet authority?—*March 8, 1919.*

THE THIRTY-SEVEN SENATORS who signed the Lodge resolution against the League of Nations, we now learn, are not diehard opponents of any League, and the resolution was a political trick wittingly turned to embarrass the President and to misrepresent the nation before European eyes. . . . The Republicans probably hope that by the time elections come around such despicable machinations will be forgotten.—*March 15, 1919.*

ZEALOUS PATRIOTS among our lawmakers are attempting now in ten or twelve states to enact legislation, first, to prohibit the use of any foreign language in elementary grades, and, second, to bring all parochial and private schools under the jurisdiction of the state in order to enforce the first ruling.—*March 22, 1919.*

THE RECORDS OF UNEMPLOYMENT in America are mounting steadily. We are passing today through the initial stages of a process of readjustment which by the middle of the summer inevitably will develop into a serious situation. Troops are returning from abroad in ever-increasing numbers; and, in the meanwhile, wounded soldiers with all the medals afforded by the field of battle are begging on the streets of New York.—*March 29, 1919.*

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# *World War III Ahead?*

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THERE is little connection between the ideals of liberal internationalists and the sorry realities of the contemporary international scene. While the idealists still hope for some kind of world government, or at least for an international police force under a world federation, the real issue is whether the great powers, now united in conflict, can reach enough agreement with each other to avoid new rivalries out of which a new war will inevitably be bred. Despite the Moscow and Teheran conferences, signs multiply that no great advance has been taken toward a genuine system of mutual security. If no basic accord is reached, the failure will be obscured by an agreement to disagree. The obvious form of such an agreement would be the division of Europe and Asia into "spheres of influence," which would probably be known as "regional federations" and which would represent the outer ramparts of the schemes of unilateral defense of the various great powers.

Obviously such a solution of the problem confronting the nations of the world is only a palliative for the disease of international anarchy. By defining the "spheres" in which each of the powers would undertake not to poach on the preserves of the others, the great powers would avoid immediate conflict; but ultimate conflict would not long be postponed. Such an arrangement would certainly not solve the problem of the "no man's land" lying between the various spheres of influence, in which each of the powers would seek to extend its influence. No partitioning of Europe, for instance, would solve the problem of either France's or Germany's relation to the total structure of Europe. The destruction of Germany, offered by charlatans and some misguided "idealists" as a solution for the problem of world security, might accentuate the problem, by increasing the economic chaos of Europe. Furthermore, the dismembered portions of Germany would become fair sport for rival powers, each of which would seek to bring some portion of the vanquished nation under its dominion. (The recent protest of the London *Times* against rumored plans for the dismemberment of Germany would lead one to suspect that Britain at least is opposed to such a policy.) If the world remains unorganized, there is even the possibility that the most ruthless plans of destruction will not be carried out, for a shrewd vanquished nation might well escape its fate by courting one of the victors and playing it off against the others. Ruthlessness toward the vanquished can no more give us security than vindictiveness toward bandits and pirates can achieve ordered government in those regions of land and sea where lack of civil authority invites lawless men to flourish.

The world, in short, needs order. Yet there is little prospect of a fully developed system of constitutional order—of a world government or even of a fully elaborated federation of the world. The great powers, the nucleus of a global alliance which will win a global war and thereby become the embryo of a world community, show no inclination toward any delegation of their authority to a world government. At the moment, even the prospects for something much more modest are not too bright. This more modest something would be a partnership in which a system of genuine mutual security would overcome the fears by which allies are turned into potential foes, each covertly preparing for the next war by seeking strategic advantages against the others.

Though not bright, the prospect of such a partnership still belongs to the realm of political possibilities; the prospect of a world government is quite beyond that realm. For world government requires the explicit abridgment of sovereignty and the creation of a universal political authority by a sheer act of will and reason. The coalescence of new and larger human communities usually does not take place in such explicit terms. The alternative requires only the implicit abridgment of sovereignty through the creation of agencies for the fulfilment of common tasks, and through mutual commitments; the smaller powers would necessarily be drawn into the general agreements because these agreements would not be possible without their cooperation.

The possibility of a global alliance of the big powers, containing quasi-constitutional checks and security for the smaller powers, rests at least on some historical foundation. Nations are fighting in a common cause, and they have made commitments in conducting the struggle. They cannot even liquidate the war without participating in various relief and rehabilitation agencies, though it must be observed that it is not yet at all certain that there will be common armies of occupation. The defeat of a common foe does of course destroy a part of the force of cohesion. But, on the other hand, there are a historical partnership and an organic coalescence of power upon which new political structures can be built if the fear of anarchy can, to some degree, supplant fear of a concrete foe. It is generally understood that the great powers are adverse to the organization of Europe because they fear that European unity would ultimately result in the hegemony of Germany upon the Continent. Yet the

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danger of a powerful Germany grew in an unorganized Continent, and will grow again if there is no greater unity between the powers than is now contemplated.

The justifications which some liberals find in the Russian counter-measures, and the support of the conservatives for our counter-measures are both beside the point. Both sides may be justified, and it would be difficult to determine what overt action or attitude initiated the vicious circle. The important point is that if we do not break through the circle, a third world war cannot be avoided. Neither we nor Russia will finally tolerate the domination of Europe by the other side.

The most significant mark of a real agreement among the great powers as distinct from a bogus agreement to disagree will be its provision for the reorganization of Europe and Asia. The reorganizations of Europe and of Asia cannot proceed independently of each other since the effective power is held today by three, possibly four, great powers, none of which, except China, is either purely European or purely Asiatic. Continental federations must therefore stand under the aegis of the great powers. But they must be achieved, because without them no stable agreement between the great powers is conceivable. The logic of world events thus points to a global alliance rather than a purely constitutional world order, but to constitutional commitments on the second, that is, continental level of organization.

Consider the case of Europe. We are afraid, not without reason, that Russia may seek to dominate the Continent. Russia is afraid, not without justification, that we are seeking to dominate the Continent against it. The impulse to domination is in each case partly a defensive strategy against the supposed or real peril of domination by the other side. This is precisely the kind of vicious circle of fears from which wars arise. It must be observed that if this game is going to be played, Russia has more cards than we and is more likely to win. But such success or failure is also irrelevant to the main issue. The success of either Russia or the Western powers upon the Continent would not prevent another world war. The war would in fact break out before the complete triumph of one party or the other and would be prompted by the desire of the losing side to frustrate the triumph.

Liberals have concentrated their criticism on the flirtations with reactionary forces carried on by our own State Department and the Churchill government. They have been quite right in pointing to the catastrophic effects of this policy, both in the dismay and confusion it has brought to the democratic forces of the Continent and in its effect upon our relations with Russia. But they have not emphasized sufficiently that the first prerequisite of a truly democratic policy is an over-all agreement with Russia, which can quite obviously not be achieved without a total plan for the democratic reorganization of Europe. If such an agreement is not reached, the futile effort to reorganize Europe through reactionary, fascist, and semi-fascist forces will continue, no matter how strongly criticized. It will continue because the fear of Russia's domination of the Continent will prompt and seem to justify these measures. Only an agreement which will overcome these mutual fears will make it possible to give the democratic forces in Europe genuine support; and such an agreement can be successful only if support of the democratic forces is made integral to a plan for the reorganization and unification of the Continent.

Any plan for the reorganization of Europe must include provisions for a total reorganization of its economic life in which the irrelevancies of national tariffs will be overcome and in which a common credit and money policy will facilitate the free flow of goods. The political unity of Europe will, furthermore, facilitate disposition of the difficult problems arising from the Nazi expropriation of German, French, and other property. The property system of Europe has gone through the "'meat-chopper" of a total war, and there is no possibility of restoring it to a semblance of the past or in conformity with the British and American property system. Any effort to do so would mean either the support of reactionary political movements in the hope that they would protect "liberal" economic reorganization or the formation of a cartel system which would make the Continent a colony of the hegemonic powers. Either course would force the masses of the Continent to the side of Russia, even though their hope of genuine emancipation through Russia may be quite illusory.

On the other hand, bitter experience has taught us how the peril of totalitarianism lurks in a program of complete socialization. There is a possibility of working out a synthesis between socialized and individual property on the Continent which might well make a creative contribution to the solution of the property problem in the whole world. Furthermore, such a synthesis could become an instrument of reconciliation between Russia and the West and thus transform Europe, economically as well as politically, into a meeting ground, rather than a battle ground, of rival powers.

Any such plan would be good for the Continent because it would offer it economic order rather than chaos. But it would not be adopted primarily for that reason; the hegemonic powers, even though they call themselves the "peace-loving nations," are not as magnanimous as that. If adopted at all it will be because the great powers can solve their mutual problems only upon that basis. The case of Asia is similar, though in some respects it is more complex and less immediately urgent.

The reorganization of Europe and Asia can only take place under the aegis of the great powers, but it cannot take place at all without giving the smaller powers consti-

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tutional rights and authority within the total framework of the agreements. It is at this point that constitutional justice must be introduced into the system of global alliance. The possibility of its being introduced lies not so much in any scruples the great powers may have about misuse of their strength as in their inability to achieve any order in the continental realms which lie between them without drawing the smaller nations into the system of agreements.

While self-interest places such agreements within the realm of political possibility, they are not in the realm of probability for the simple reason that the so-called democratic nations are still dominated by groups which seek the preservation and extension of their economic power—the more desperately because they have an uneasy feeling that it is doomed. The opposition of these forces to an organized and partly socialized Europe may be too stubborn and blind and also too powerful to be overcome in time. But there is a bare chance that it can be overcome because the alternative policies presented by the opposition so obviously lead to another war. If this opposition is to be defeated, however, the democratic forces in Britain and America must be armed with a policy which is in the realm of political possibility. Democratic energy must not be dissipated by consideration of abstract plans which belong to the millennium.

It must be observed in conclusion that however vexatious may be the problems arising from the plans of various nations for strategic security, they are subordinate to the main issue. Russia's desire for a strong strategic frontier, Britain's hope of drawing some of the Low Countries into its Commonwealth system, and America's interest in a big navy and in naval and aerial bases are all in the same category. It is inevitable that all nations should seek for some provisional unilateral security. But if there is no over-all agreement among them, their plans will turn into schemes for merely unilateral security.

All of them must become, increasingly, counsels of despair, because they are plans for the relative security of this or that nation in the event of another war. None of them will be plans for the security of the world against the peril of war.

# *The Future of Japan's Islands*

BY WILLARD PRICE

NOW that we have begun to occupy Japanese-mandated islands, the question of their future becomes a matter for urgent consideration. The vast archipelago of Micronesia, comprising the 1,400 islands of the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, is, as we have painfully learned, the key to the western Pacific. With it Japan unlocked the treasures of the Indies and the Philippines. It made possible the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor and the southward advance toward Australia. Without it Japan would hardly have dared to dream of conquering America.

The Cairo conference made it clear that Micronesia would not be returned to Japan. Who, then, is to hold this pivotal position, which controls the islands of the Pacific and the shores of Asia? Although the United States is pledged to a peace of "no annexations," the assumption is being made in influential quarters that we shall take over Micronesia as a matter of course. Hugh Byas, former New York *Times* Tokyo correspondent, writes, for instance: "The mandate now held by Japan should be summarily transferred to the United States."

While greatly respecting the opinions of this veteran newspaperman, I would suggest that we have no warrant to deal "summarily" with peaceful and law-abiding populations, no matter how small. They cannot be passed about as one would pass the butter. True, they have been. Neither the Spaniards, the Germans, nor the Japanese consulted the natives before seizing their lands. The United States should be the nation to stop such violation of ordinary human rights. Nothing would do more to allay the suspicions of Asiatics, who, prompted by Japan, fear that America and Britain mean to extend their imperialism over all Asia.

Unlimited self-determination is, of course, impossible. If each island of two or three thousand people were to constitute its own government we should have a myriad sovereign nations in the Pacific: the result—chaos and constant war. The Micronesian is perhaps a little more advanced than we in his social thinking. He realizes the inadvisability of self-government if by that is meant separate rule for each island or even each small group. During my visit to the islands, managed with difficulty in the days when Japan was preparing them for their role in the war to come, I asked many chiefs about this. Their views were pretty well summed up in the opinion of a Ponape chief: "When we ruled ourselves, every chief was at war with every other. It is better to have some higher authority."

A plebiscite might be held to learn the desire of the Micronesians as to what that higher authority should be. At the time of the Versailles conference an American missionary who had served in the Marshalls stated his

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belief that if a plebiscite were taken, the people of the Marshall and Caroline Islands would ask to be placed under American administration.

That may be the solution of the problem. It would not be entirely satisfactory. The United States cannot afford the taint of imperialism if it is to get on well with Asia in the post-war era and avert a world-destroying color war. Asiatics would suspect that the plebiscite had been "fixed." Dissenting islanders might rise in rebellion, as in the Philippines in 1898, and we should have to use American troops to put them down.

Moreover, there is no warrant for regarding the western Pacific as an American ocean. Micronesia is four thousand miles from our West Coast. It is much closer to China, to a colonial Holland more important than Holland itself, to French Indo-China, and to the soon-to-be-independent Philippines, not to mention British possessions and Australian mandates in the southwest Pacific. In the event of war it is the strategic center of the western Pacific.

Inevitably the fate of Micronesia is of international concern. Why should it not be internationally controlled as a benefit to all and threat to none? During the interim between the capture of the archipelago and the end of the war Micronesia will be governed under the authority of the United Nations. What could be more natural at the peace conference than the transference of that authority to whatever world organization may then be established? Japan would not immediately be a member of such a world council and would therefore have no part in the management of the mandate. Only after a long period of probation would Japan be admitted to the association of nations and share in its responsibilities.

Whether the island mandate is held by one nation or by all, the worrisome question arises: What is to be done with the Japanese? There are now 100,000 of them in the mandated islands as against only 40,000 natives. And the high birth rate of the Japanese means that, even if no more were admitted, the Japanese population in the islands would steadily and swiftly increase. We know enough about the Japanese to be sure that they would try to rule any land in which they were numerically predominant. Japan would champion its colonists. The situation would invite a new war.

The obvious remedy may seem drastic, but it is probably unavoidable if there is to be any chance of enduring peace in the Pacific. Every Japanese person—man, woman, and child—in Micronesia should be sent back to Japan. This is not so colossal an undertaking as it might at first seem. The movement of 100,000 persons to Japan would not compare for a moment with the migration in 1922-24 of 1,350,000 Greeks from Asia Minor to Macedonia and Thrace. That dislocation, painful enough at the time, has resulted in great satisfaction to both Turkey and Greece.

The argument that Japan is too crowded to accommodate these nationals is not valid. One hundred thousand Japanese will hardly begin to take the place of the three million men Japan is estimated to have lost in war since 1937. In a population of seventy-five million so small a number as one hundred thousand can be easily absorbed.

While the Japanese have complained of lack of space, they have declined to populate their own island of Hokkaido. It is north of the main island of Honshu and a bit cool—rather like Wyoming. It does not have the rather precious miniature beauty of the Honshu landscape. The Japanese, who like small things, do not feel at home there. But it is a richly fertile country of broad plains suited to large-scale agriculture. It has an area of thirty thousand square miles, a population of only two and a half million, and room, according to Japanese authorities themselves, for twenty million.

How should the brown men of the islands be governed after the Japanese regime is finished? We should not be too proud to learn from our enemies. The Japanese system of administration, which is very similar to that set up in the other Pacific mandates, has worked pretty well. It is to govern the natives through their own kings, whom the people respect and obey as persons with a hereditary right to rule. The Japanese designate the kings as *soncho,* or district heads, and pay them a salary.

The structure of the Japanese South Seas government is, in brief, as follows. At the base are the natives, with a degree of self-government through their own kings or *soncho,* under a Japanese police officer. The entire mandated area is divided into six "Branch Bureaus," each supervising a group of islands. The six governors of the Branch Bureaus are responsible to the Governor General of the South Seas Bureau, who is stationed at Palau. And the South Seas Bureau, in turn, is superintended by the Minister of Greater East Asia in Tokyo.

The new administration might well follow a similar pattern. The natives should be allowed to keep their kings. Some kind of administrative grouping is almost essential because of the wide separation of the islands and the difficulty of communication. If the control is international, the governors of the different divisions should be chosen regardless of nationality: British, American, Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, Chinese, French, Russian. Micronesians themselves should certainly be eligible for this position. The only criterion should be merit and ability to confer with colleagues in a common language. An over-all governor general might be appointed for a definite period by the United Nations or whatever world association may take its place.

The question of a common language might be raised at this point. To suggest that this should be English is to risk charges of "linguistic imperialism." We should respect the native culture, many people will argue, and encourage the Kanakas to use their own language.

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There is, however, no Kanaka language. Or, rather, there is a different language for the Kanakas of every island. Saipan cannot understand Yap; nor Yap, Palau; nor Palau, Truk; nor Truk, Ponape; nor Ponape, Kusaie; nor Kusaie, Jaluit. Democratic unity is of course impossible with such diversity of tongues. The printed word is denied to islanders for the simple reason that it would not pay a publisher to print the world's literature in a language read by only two or three thousand people. Mental expansion is difficult in a limited language. There are only 6,000 words in the Palau tongue, 3,000 in Truk, 1,000 in Yap; there are 600,000 in English.

But, assuming that the schools of the Pacific teach the islanders a common language, why should it be English? Why not Japanese, Chinese, or Malay?

Malay is not a great world language. Chinese is, but it comes in nine different dialects and is very difficult to learn. It would draw the Pacific toward China but would cut it off linguistically from the rest of the world. Japanese is also a very difficult and exceedingly provincial language. The English language is spoken by 260,000,000 people. It is preeminently the language of world communication, and as Christopher Hollis has said, it "is the language, far more than any other, in which the story of freedom is told." That is of importance if we look forward to ultimate democracy in the Pacific.

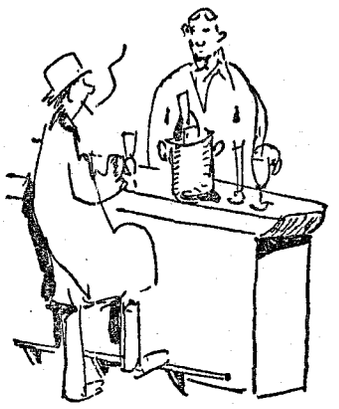
And in the far future the Micronesian islands may emerge from mandate status into a complete democratic self-government, perhaps in conjunction with other island groups of the Pacific. This cannot happen now, not because the native is an ignorant savage—he is not, and his knowledge of democratic ways is surprising—but because the islands are so isolated from one another. Yap and Truk are more distinct than the United States and Russia. A Chamorro family in Saipan talked to me about Broadway in New York and Piccadilly in London but could tell me nothing about the Marshalls.

This situation will change in time. The sea separates islands; the air will unite them. The impetus given to aviation by the war, the building of airfields on the islands, the suitability of lagoons as landing places for seaplanes, all forecast the day when every chief or well-to-do copra farmer will have his plane. Instead of waiting a month for a boat from Truk to Yap and then taking four days for the trip, he may get off at any time and make the trip in two hours. What seems fanciful now will be commonplace in fifty years. Daily postal service between the islands will integrate them, and the improvement of the radio and the radio-telephone will have the same effect. A newspaper, either printed in one place and distributed through the entire area by plane or transmitted page by page by wire photo and printed locally, would help all the diversified peoples of the Pacific to have the same information every morning. And it is only when people begin to think together that they will act together.

# *Hendrik van Loon*

[*Last week Hendrik van Loon died at his home in Old Greenwich, Connecticut. Mr. van Loon was one of the most generous and most talented of* The Nation's *friends, and we read with satisfaction all the warm appreciations of his personality and his work. Reading them, we recalled the very earliest days of* The Nation's *separate existence, after Mr. Villard sold the New York* Evening Post *in 1918, when Hendrik van Loon wrote unsigned contributions to the column headed In the Driftway, and the later days when he contributed occasional articles and many funny pointed drawings. And we decided that the best small tribute we could pay our old friend would be the publication this week of a few reminiscent examples of his versatile talent. We present them herewith.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE Drifter looked out of the window across the dreary court. It was raining. In many of the offices the electric light was burning and busy girls were hammering away at their machines. The whole building was buying and selling and counting profits; romance had been dead these thousand years and pig iron was king. Then there came a little old man with a pot of paint. He stopped before a door, took off his coat, and put his hat on the window-sill. Then he began to scrape. One by one the gilded letters telling the curious that this was the private entrance to So and So's, who dealt in This and That, were quickly removed, the glass was washed, the door made ready for further pictorial operations. The little man took a stick in his left hand. He worked very fast, and the letters of the new occupant grew with astonishing rapidity. Within half an hour there they stood neatly done in black and gold upon the gray background of the glass panel:



WASHINGTON, D. C.—Prohibition Agent Swiller spends $3,249.47 to get evidence that 30 cents' worth of corn brandy is sold within the shade of the Capitol.

C-Z-E-C-H-O-S-L-O-V-A-K
C-O-N-S-U-L-A-T-E G-E-N-E-R-A-L

In the midst of steel and automobiles and soap and oils and skins and the concrete mechanism of our modern world of trade and business a miracle had happened. A new nation had been born. Some day that door will be in the museum at Prague, and from all parts of Bohemia people will travel to see the handiwork of the little old man with his pot of paint.—IN THE DRIFTWAY, *December 7, 1918.*

At last a classical word has reached the Drifter's ear from Paris. Switzerland, that house of mercy to the sick and weary of all the world, which fed the Allied prisoners from its own meager larder, which served as letter carrier extraordi-

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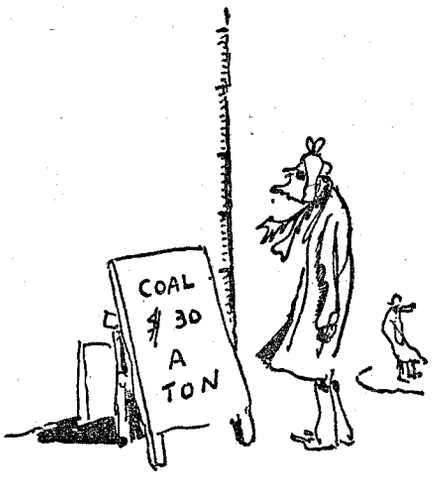
nary to all prisoners of war and performed a thousand unrecognized services, maintained an army of half a million to maintain rigorously the "no-trespassing" edict against all neighbors. During the Armistice it was necessary for the President of the Swiss Republic to visit Paris, on which occasion M. Ador called upon M. Clemenceau. The unsophisticated Drifter would have looked for an appreciation of Gallic flavor, but quadrilateral internationalism is not Gallic, nor is it grateful. The Tiger's greeting to his Swiss confrère was typical of the Allied attitude toward the neutral. "M. le Président," he remarked, "votre neutralité m'a embêté." It "made him tired." The words are veritably Napoleonic. They will be contradicted, but they will live.—*July 5, 1919.*




U. S. A.—110,000,000 people manage to keep cool with Coolidge.

THE 1924 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN CLEVELAND

Let us be merciful and mention the one thing that can be said in favor of this noble gathering. It is composed of Nordics. The foreigner and the Negro and the Jew are almost totally missing and cannot be held responsible for whatever happens. Years from now when their children look them in the face and ask, "Daddy, what did you do in 1924?" they at least can answer, "Never mind, you nasty little brat. I was not at the Republican convention." . . .

Try and imagine the setting of the stage for this gigantic piece of hokum. On the one hand we have a candidate who has as much personality as last year's time-table. On the other hand we have the most powerful and the richest and the most glorious and the grandest country in the world. And a small piece of this nation, in freedom conceived, is going to name a man for whom not one-third of one per cent of the sum total of the delegates feel one-third of one per cent of personal liking or admiration or even respect. And five months from now their henchmen just as deliberately are going to try to vote this same candidate back into the White House for four years more of mush and maple sugar.—THE NORDIC JUBILEE, *June 25, 1924.*

*From* The Nation, *May 19, 1926*

1914—1915—1916—1917—1918

"Bill, this is pretty terrible."

"I know it, Joe. But think of the wonderful time our children will have."

# *In the Wind*

THE MARCH 17 ISSUE of *Yank*, the army magazine, publishes letters on the soldier-vote controversy by fifty-seven soldiers. Fifty-six want a federal ballot; one wants no ballot at all; none are interested in states' rights.

THE UNITED STATES Chamber of Commerce approves of American participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—on this condition: "Care should be taken that, under the heading of rehabilitation, commitments for post-war reconstruction are not authorized."

OPPOSITION to a national-service act is expressed by the *Worth Street Forecast*, an organ of the cotton-textile business, in these terms: "History will record the guileless candor of native-born Americans predominantly Anglo-Saxon developing a land inordinately rich in resources and extending the helping hand to myriad others to whom freedom was unthinkable and unworkable. These hordes have spawned on the American shores, mistaking liberty under law for license and eventually destroying the law itself."

PRINTERS' INK, an advertising magazine, reports that a group of grocers and tobacco distributors, "hitherto highly articulate and bitter against OPA," has recommended that Congress "pass legislation continuing OPA as an after-the-war agency to establish minimum prices below which merchandise could not be sold."

*FESTUNG EUROPA:* They tell it in Norway: The Nazi mayor of Asker had a young pig of which he was extremely fond. He named him Truls, a good Norwegian name. He even resorted to the black market to get the best of feed for the animal. But one morning shortly before Christmas the pig was missing. There were blood stains on the snow, and tacked to the pigsty was a placard bearing a drawing of the iron cross with which German soldiers' graves are marked and this inscription: "TRULS. 12/17/43. He Fell in the Fight Against Bolshevism."

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**Rejected by the New York World-Telegram as a full-page advertisement**

# Kenneth Leslie Answers Smear Campaign

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Editor—New York World-Telegram

February 14, 1944

125 Barclay Street
New York 15, N. Y.
Sir:

I must request space for a brief reply to Mr. Woltman's articles in the World-Telegram of February 7, 8 and 9, which label THE PROTESTANT, its Textbook Commission to Eliminate Anti-Semitic Statements in American Textbooks, and myself, as being "anti-Jewish," "anti-Catholic" and unofficial apologists for Communism.

Mr. Woltman charges me with being anti-Semitic because I attack the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I am anti-Catholic, according to Mr. Woltman, because I called Archbishop Spellman "the dainty servant of Vatican intrigue."

Finally Mr. Woltman "proves" that I am an "apologist for Communism" because I demanded a diplomatic break with Spain and a revocation of the deportation order against Harry Bridges.

In his smear attack on myself and the organization I represent, Mr. Woltman goes to great pains to create the impression that by my criticism of the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews I am guilty of anti-Semitism. But Mr. Woltman very carefully omits to mention the reason for my attack against those bodies.

THE PROTESTANT accused and still accuses the American Jewish Committee of appeasing the groups responsible for the creation of anti-Semitism.

THE PROTESTANT strongly opposed and still opposes the hush-hush policy of the American Jewish Committee in fighting anti-Semitism.

THE PROTESTANT pointed out that Judge Joseph Proskauer, head of the American Jewish Committee, was one of the key figures in the American Liberty League, whose members contributed money to the Sentinels of the Republic for anti-Semitic activities.

THE PROTESTANT charged and still charges the American Jewish Committee with trying to prevent exposure of Henry Ford's continued support of anti-Semitic activities headed by men in his employ.

THE PROTESTANT proved, by means of incontrovertible documents, that the American Jewish Committee [illegible]

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JOSEPH G. MOORE
*St. Paul's Parish, Evansville, Ind.*
KAREN MORLEY
*Hollywood, California*
LOUIE D. NEWTON
*Assoc. Sec'y, Baptist World Alliance*
ROBERT H. NICHOLS
*New York Synod Presbyterian Church*
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
*San Francisco, California*
WILHELM PAUCK
*University of Chicago*
EDWIN MCNEILL POTEAT
*Euclid Ave. Baptist Church*
*Cleveland, Ohio*
GORDON POTEAT
*Crozer Theological Seminary*
A. CLAYTON POWELL
*Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y.*
LEONHARD RAGAZ
*Editor, "Neue Wege," Zurich*
BEN RICHARDSON
*Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y.*
LESLIE ROBERTS
*Montreal, Canada*
RAYMOND ROBINS
*Chinsegut Hill, Fla.*
W. STANLEY RYCROFT
*Exec. Sec'y, Committee*
*on Cooperation in Latin America*
D. R. SHARPE
*Exec. Sec'y, Cleveland Baptist Assoc.*
ALVA TAYLOR
*Social Service Commission*
*Federal Council of Churches*
WATSON THOMPSON
*University of Manitoba*
PAUL TILLICH
*Union Theological Seminary*
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
*National Council, Y.M.C.A.*
GREGORY VLASTOS
*Queens University, Canada*
O. WALTER WAGNER
*St. John's Evangelical & Reformed Church*
*Jackson, Michigan*
RUFUS W. WEAVER
*Washington, D. C.*
ROBERT WHITAKER
*Los Gatos, California*
HENRY N. WIEMAN
*University of Chicago*
CLAUDE WILLIAMS
*Institute of Applied Religion*

As to the anti-Catholicism of THE PROTESTANT: to quote freely from my editorial in the first issue of THE PROTESTANT, in Dec., 1938:

> "Right away we shall make a confession. We believe that some of the best protesting today is being done by Catholics, and for that reason much of our material will be drawn from Catholic sources. For no-saying is as necessary now as it was in Luther's day. If ever there was a protester it was Christ himself. But his no-saying implies a tremendous yes-saying. May ours today, both Catholic and Protestant, have the same implication! . . . A very dear Catholic friend of mine writes: 'Some of the noblest protestants of history were Catholics . . . St. Francis, for instance, and Catherine of Siena, and Dante. A penetrating exchange of views, so long as it is touched with the charity as well as the clarity of Christ, ought to be the weal of us all.' The purpose of our venture could not be better expressed."

THE PROTESTANT has NEVER attacked the Catholic religion. It has taken and still is taking issue with the political activities of the Vatican and its emissaries. Those who read THE PROTESTANT know that our editorial policy is crystal-clear on that point.

As to our defense against the series of unprovoked attacks upon us by the National Conference of Christians and Jews: we have time and again pointed out that we cannot condone the appeasement policy of the Conference. We have published in THE PROTESTANT a very comprehensive article by Rabbi Joshua Bloch, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library — an article in which this distinguished scholar analyzed the record of the National Conference and revealed as a "hoax" its claims of having cleaned up anti-Semitism in Catholic and Protestant religious textbooks.

THE PROTESTANT more than once directed attention to the fact that Father Edward Lodge Curran, the Number Two Jew-baiter in this country, was a member of the National Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It was only after we had done this that Father Curran was removed. We did not meet with the same success with regard to Mr. Carleton Hayes, America's Franco-glorifying Ambassador to Madrid, who is to this date one of the chief figures of the National Conference.

THE PROTESTANT adheres to its policy of attacking Fascism here and abroad, irrespective of whether its sponsorship be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish.

As long as Mr. Woltman brought up the myth of "responsible Jewish groups" being worried about the tendencies of THE PROTESTANT, I should like to quote from an editorial in a recent issue of the Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress, which is headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and unquestionably is America's most important national Jewish organization for the defense of Jewish rights The Congress Weekly states:

> "Mr. Kenneth Leslie, editor of THE PROTESTANT, in a recent article on 'Christianity and Anti-Semitism' has the courage to declare: 'Anti-Semitism as we know it in the Western world is an element which has been for 2,000 years part and parcel of the Christian tradition. It can only be dealt with as such.'
>
> Our position as Jews and as victims prevents us from elaborating any further on this statement. But even as Jews we cannot feign such ignorance as not knowing in which of the Christian denominations anti-Semitic teachings are emphasized in larger degree. Inasmuch as the violent acts of the hoodlums are a product of home environment and beliefs indoctrinated in the youths by paternal and religious authority it is the job of the Christian community to investigate and reveal the source of influences that bring about this evil.
>
> The veil over these real sources of the evil must be removed. To quote Mr. Leslie again: 'Democracy must say to Christianity: Clean house of this anti-democratic thought and action'."

I have ignored the personal angle of Mr. Woltman's attack and taken up only a few of its more serious aspects. I suppose that I should go into sackcloth and ashes for having been guilty of "selling buttermilk and growing apples," as Mr. Woltman revealed in his "Case Against Intolerance." I feel no bitterness against Frederick Woltman for his attempt to destroy THE PROTESTANT and build up the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But one cannot evade history and distort undeniable facts even through sensational headlines and the recitation of eminent names to cover up falsification of the truth.

M. Pierre van Paassen, Mr. Johannes Steel, the news analyst, and Mr. Joseph Brainin, associate editor of THE PROTESTANT, whom Mr. Woltman also includes in his diatribe, can rest on their records. Specifically, when a man of the stature of Pierre van Paassen, whom the Jews in this country, in Europe and in Palestine have come to regard as their greatest champion, is accused of anti-Semitism, then the accuser must be pitied for having exposed his ignorance—or malice—so flagrantly.

I want to believe that, as the editor of a newspaper whose masthead carries the slogan "Give light and the people will find their own way", you will find the space to publish this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Leslie

KENNETH LESLIE

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# *Watch Mexico*

BY FRANK JELLINEK

*Mexico City, March 1*

THE Bolivian coup and the confusion surrounding its origins made the Mexican government acutely aware that similar dangers threaten Mexico. While there was no concrete evidence that the agents of the Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis were directly interfering in Mexican affairs, certain elements common to nearly all Latin American countries were undoubtedly at work, and President Manuel Avila Camacho took immediate action to forestall a crisis. By a series of moves he gave warning to the forces of the right that further infiltration would not be tolerated, and that ambitious politicians would be playing with fire if they tried to carry his own appeasement policies too far. He did not move to the left; he merely played off the left against a right offensive.

The extraordinary indirection of Camacho's defensive strategy was fairly typical of his whole policy, which is based fundamentally upon the economic rather than the political situation in Mexico. Mexico is undergoing an inflation that is not only bringing misery to large parts of the population but creating tremendous instability in the comparatively limited circle of its beneficiaries. Exports of raw materials are at the highest peak in history, but imports are limited mainly to cash, since war requirements of the United States have cut off the influx of machinery, replacements, and consumer goods. The imported cash is not used for productive investment but for speculation or hoarding. Hoarding is, in fact, officially encouraged by the free sale of gold. But efforts to reduce the money in circulation or to distribute it more widely have had little success. A 220,000,000-peso internal loan was taken up chiefly by the banks and big business houses; there has been no attempt to sell war bonds to the general public.

Despite a Presidential decree ordering wage increases ranging from 50 per cent for a weekly wage of 7 pesos to 12 per cent for the large wage of 84 pesos, the disparity between wages and prices widens constantly, and actual starvation is averted only because most Mexican families have a little land for subsistence farming. A labor shortage in certain semi-skilled trades, such as building, has created a small group of comparatively prosperous artisans, but their work is so inefficient that normal times must inevitably bring their downfall. They then will become excellent fascist material.

In a period of fourteen months the Ministry of Economy evolved no fewer than twenty-eight schemes to control prices. Each was followed by a new rise. The total increase cannot be accurately stated owing to fluctuations in different districts and the operations of the black market, but it is estimated to be 28 per cent since 1940.

Politically, the difficulties of control are almost insuperable. The question was never squarely faced by Cárdenas, even when he had the means of enforcement. Now, any broad program would arouse the opposition of the war profiteers, who are rapidly becoming conscious of their status as a new native bourgeoisie. A scheme of control based on an extension of the Cárdenas reforms and a clean-up of the administrative machinery would drive the profiteers, the government fears, to join those who plot the overthrow of the democratic structure.

The forces of the left have been entirely ineffective in combating the present situation. Their initial mistake was to characterize Avila Camacho as "the continuer of the Mexican Revolution." When the war came in May, 1942, the labor unions declared for a policy of national unity. But all attempts to obtain real cooperation, such as labor-management committees, a national production board, even a unified labor central, collapsed. Protests by left leaders against abuses, corruption, and intolerable living standards were at once held against them as violations of their own pledge to effect unity. Defeatism, opportunism, and open corruption attacked large sections of the laboring masses, for whom the organized movement had accomplished practically nothing. The disappointed workers began to turn against the government itself. Labor gangsters made a glorious comeback amid the cheers of the reactionary press.

Cárdenism, however, remains a latent force, though Cárdenas himself has kept his pledge not to intervene in politics and has occupied himself with reorganizing the army. It is doubtful whether the majors and the colonels share his political views. But the army still plays a decisive role in Mexican politics: no politician could maintain himself in power if the army were against him.

There has been a good deal of talk about a Mexican expeditionary force. Avila Camacho has said that one will be sent if the United Nations ask for it, but that it would prefer to fight under its own flag and as an army of liberation, perhaps in the Philippines. If the force is sent, it will mean that the government has become strong enough to disregard the right's continuing utterance of non-interventionist slogans.

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The Sinarchists, the most outspoken group of the opposition, have recently discovered a huge red plot to seize power. It is headed, they say, by Cárdenas, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Federation of Labor (CTAL), Soviet Ambassador Constantin A. Oumansky, the mild Friends of the Soviet Union, and the Protestant missionaries. To accuse your enemies of an ambition to do something you want to do yourself is an old fascist trick—the "preventive-rising" propaganda was used by Franco in Spain. It would suit the right very well to see Cárdenas provoked into breaking his pledge. His movement would be called a "Communist rising," and any effort the right might make to quell it would be regarded with far less skepticism in Washington than was the Bolivian coup.

There is, of course, no question of Mexico backing out of the war, though widespread enthusiasm for it is not at present a dominating emotion. Civilian war activities have more or less stopped. There are no more blackouts or mass voluntary drills, no sale of war bonds, no rationing. No large proportion of the people actually favor Hitler or Franco now, because no one wants to be on the losing side, but it is not uncommon to hear a business man admit rather coyly that he is a "Germanophile." The definitely pro-Nazi papers, *Omega* and *Hombre Libre,* have a fairly large circulation among the middle class. The distance between coolness toward Hitler and enthusiasm for the United Nations, though Mexico is one of them, is still greater than Allied propaganda agencies seem to realize. It is not lessened by the prominence given in the Mexican press to columnists like Hearst's Karl von Wiegand and Howard's William Philip Simms.

Professions of friendship for the United States or the United Nations do not necessarily mean more than an attempt to maintain and increase political power at home. And the United States has many facets. Very often friendship for it is friendship for persons like Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen and other outstanding foes of the Soviet Union. Even the Sinarchists, whom Sheen recently supported as Father Coughlin had supported them before, resolved to suppress open attacks on the United States after a recent semi-secret meeting of regional and national "chiefs." The present aim of the Sinarchists is to appear as an "element of order." Since they stress Christianity as their guiding principle, their claims have met with some success, especially among the less political-minded members of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. They are moving away from *Hispanidad,* the Phalangist slogan for restoration of Spain's "spiritual" empire in the Americas, and toward *Hispanismo,* the stressing of the "Spanish element" in the American republics. *Hispanismo's* center appears to be Buenos Aires. It attacks Jews, "Communists," Protestants, Free Masons.

The Roman Catholic church is undoubtedly sharing in the usual war-time religious revival. In many places the church hierarchy deprecates the political exploitation of religion if only out of fear that an anti-clerical response will be aroused. This is true in the United States, where Cardinal Mundelein disowned Coughlin, in Argentina and Colombia, and in Mexico, where Archbishop Luis Martínez has advised Catholics to support the government. Nevertheless, Catholicism, with its long tradition of rule and its legend of paternalism, has the kind of appeal to the masses that the word "socialism" had in Hitler's National Socialism. Significantly, it appeals mainly to the most wretched and to the wealthiest, both of which groups oppose the "materialism" of the newly rich and the "socialist" leaders who were unable to improve living standards.

The demand for a New Christian Order is strong just because so many honest persons are unwilling to oppose it. It is spreading, too, because most of the left is going to the opposite extreme and attacking, not the perversion and penetration of the Catholic hierarchy, but Catholicism as a whole. The attitude adopted by the Mexican government, which fears a revival of the old church-state struggle, has been to appease both elements in the church and to play for safety.

Whether the growth of New Christian Order ideas, spreading from Madrid and Detroit to Buenos Aires and Mexico, is the result of a far-reaching plan is uncertain as yet, although strange coincidences are to be noted. A serious phenomenon is the widespread emergence of the Jesuits, who have been outlawed for years. Father Eduardo Iglesias, S. J., is closely connected with the Sinarchists and with high society in Mexico. Father Wilkinson, S. J., is reported to be the brains behind the Argentine military group. Members of the Society have high connections in Washington and Whitehall. A recent supplement to *Excelsior* advertised the Jesuits' contribution to Mexico and included attacks on "corrosive Judaism," Protestantism, and English piracy. American officials who see some good in the Sinarchist movement fear Jesuit penetration.

United States official observers have shown no keen understanding of the Mexican crisis. The official policy is non-intervention in Mexican affairs. This policy is carried so far that even schemes bound to be of permanent benefit to Mexico—for example, for the prevention of tropical diseases—are kept secret. Since most Mexicans believe that intervention is the monopoly of Ambassador George S. Messersmith and his six hundred employees at the embassy and its annexes, this secrecy defeats its own ends. Senator Hugh Butler's charges that the United States is "coddling" Latin America met with little approval in Mexico, where the general opinion is that the United States needs certain materials and will come to get them regardless of price. But the left did see that Butler and Sheen are representative of trends which constitute the remains of United States imperialism.

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The danger facing Mexico is very similar to the one which erupted in Bolivia. It derives from a possible combination of disillusioned democrats, starving masses, diversionist Catholics, and owners (not producers) of export goods—the elements upon whom the Nazis count for "reinsurance" after military defeat in Europe. While the Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis can hardly cause a spectacular crisis in Mexico immediately, the prospect is not unlikely when the end of the war pricks the present boom. The last Mexican civil war lasted ten years.

# *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

SEVERAL million more workers will be needed by German war industries this year, according to the *Bremer Nachrichten* of February 13. And as these millions cannot be found in Germany, "they will have to be imported from the occupied territories and the countries of our allies." This announcement was the first intimation that another enormous importation of slave labor was contemplated.

Three days later it was revealed that the matter was to be handled in a new and original way. On February 16 the Gauleiter of Hesse-Nassau received a batch of French workers from the departments of Marne-et-Loire, Sarthe, and Indre-et-Loire and honored them with an address. He told them that the German province of Hesse-Nassau had "adopted" the three French departments from which they came; Hesse-Nassau was to be their *Pate,* or godfather, and take them under its wing. And in order to make the arrangement quite clear, he said the "godfather's" duties had been intrusted to the Labor Office of the Gau. Apparently France, as a reservoir of man-power, has been divided among the Labor Offices of the various German provinces. As *Pate* of a certain section, each has now its own hunting grounds.

The subject was embellished with poetry and philosophy some two weeks later when a prominent functionary in the Reich Labor Office, a Dr. Stothfang, described it in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of March 4:

> Now that this war has become for Europe a life-or-death struggle, it is absolutely necessary to mobilize all Europeans in defense of the Occident. Incomparably more must be done than has been done in past years. The phrase "Europe's community of fate" must be implemented by a tremendous common effort, military and economic, on the part of all European nations. Germany has shown what can be done. As champion and leader in this war Germany has a moral right, and as the chief protagonist of a sound and just New European Order it has a moral duty, to see that Europe's whole labor force is mobilized for the war effort. . . .
>
> If within the framework of this increased mobilization of European labor [the Doctor concluded] Germany must now insist on employing more foreign workers on its own soil, the demand is not unfair considering the blood sacrifices of German soldiers. It must not be looked upon as something to be complied with under duress but as fulfilment of an obvious duty imposed by Europe's fateful struggle.

During the last war a type known as *Frontschwein* (front pig) appeared in Germany and played a considerable role. A *Frontschwein* was a soldier who no longer had any respect for anything. Feeling himself an alien in civilian life and even above military discipline, he was a curious combination of warrior and outcast. The reappearance of "front pigs" in Germany today was the subject of some interesting remarks in the *Journal de Genève* of March 6:

> The *Frontschweine* who were so well known in the First World War have appeared again, and as in 1918 are beginning to leave their mark on the national life. Soldiers from the eastern front are distinguished from others by a red ribbon worn on the tunic. In the streets, in trains, and in public buildings these red-ribbon soldiers make no pretense of saluting their officers, and the officers themselves do not demand it. Nobody likes to come in contact with men from the eastern front—they always make themselves masters of a situation. The Nazi Party, too, knows what a force the red-ribbon men constitute.

The reporter then described a scene he had observed in the South German city of Augsburg:

> On February 23 Augsburg had an air raid shortly after mid-day. The shelter where I sought refuge when the sirens sounded was full. All the tables were occupied, and a large number of men, including many officers, were standing. At one table with six chairs, four were occupied by red-ribbon men—a corporal and three privates. Two chairs were vacant, but no one dared to approach the table. Finally a smartly dressed air commander entered, saw the empty chairs, and asked the corporal courteously if he might use one of them. Without rising or saluting, the corporal looked the commander up and down, then said in a tone admitting no contradiction, "Can't you see that this table is occupied? We are keeping these two chairs for our comrades." Without a word the commander walked away—in his beautifully polished boots.

In the opinion of the narrator, this attitude of the red-ribbon soldiers has become so general that practically nothing can be done about it. "Of course," he admitted, "these men could be arrested, but what then? You can't arrest thousands of fighters when every one is needed." So "power has become impotent," and an element is growing up in the population which may develop into no one knows what. In 1918 some *Frontschweine* became rebels and revolutionaries; a larger number, marauders, free-lance soldiers, secret-society murderers, adventurers, Nazis.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## What Price Art?

"THE SILENCE OF THE SEA" by Vercors (Macmillan, $1) is a tiny book—scarcely longer than a short story—with a dramatic genesis and history. We are told that it was written in Nazi-occupied France in the fall of 1941, published in that country by an underground publishing organization called Les Editions de Minuit, and then smuggled to England, where, translated by Cyril Connolly, it was brought out under the title "Put Out the Light." We are further told that it is the first in a series of such French underground publications which are to be known as "Les Cahiers du Silence." The name Vercors is of course a pseudonym.

Naturally one comes to such a volume much prejudiced in its favor. It is not only that we know that many of the distinguished writers of modern France are still living in that country; whether the author of this story is someone with whose work we are already familiar or an unknown writer, we are eager to greet any work that has survived the occupation. But whatever our good-will, "The Silence of the Sea" unfortunately turns out to be far from a great short story; perhaps, indeed, only the greatest short story could possibly live up to so dramatic a birth. It is sophisticated in conception and sure-handed in the writing, but its interest is distinctly political rather than literary.

Told in the first person by a cultivated Frenchman—by indication a writer—the story describes the developing relationship between himself, the niece with whom he lives, and a German occupation officer who is billeted in their home. The German, in civilian life a composer, is handsome and cultivated; he is sensitive to the hostility of his unwilling hosts and even respects it. He never intrudes into the part of the house in which they live except for a short visit each evening, when he knocks on their sitting-room door—only to enter without being asked to. Then, while the old Frenchman sits on one side of the fireplace sipping his coffee and the niece sits on the other side of the fireplace knitting or sewing, both of them coldly silent, the officer talks to them of his life and ideas. It seems that he is in love with French culture, the culture represented by the long rows of books that line this room in which he is so unwelcome; he sees the conquest of France as a marriage between the beautiful soul of France and the strong body of Germany, and he even carries this image to the point of describing the native betrayers of France as the disreputable matchmakers of an inevitable and fruitful union. And as he talks it becomes clear that the Nazi officer is purposefully addressing himself to the young niece, symbol of the French spirit; it also becomes clear that his charm and passion are beginning to affect his listeners profoundly despite the fact that they maintain their hostile silence. But one day the officer goes on leave to Paris, and upon his return his hosts realize that the evening intrusions have ceased. We watch them wait in increasing tension for the accustomed knock at the door. At last the evening arrives when it is heard again: for the first time the Frenchman calls loudly, "Come in," and even adds, "Sir." The German is markedly disturbed; he has come to explain his absence. While on leave in Paris he has visited German headquarters and had a shattering experience; he has learned that Germany intends to destroy French culture for a thousand years, not to woo it as he had imagined. Under such circumstances he can no longer serve as an occupation officer and he has applied for military duty; he has come this evening to say goodby. At the news the niece for the first time raises her eyes to the German and for the first time addresses him. In the attitude of a deserted lover, she utters a tortured farewell.

I think that even in outline the ambiguity of such a story must suggest itself. When one also takes into account details of the narrative which I haven't space to report here, "The Silence of the Sea" becomes even more puzzling; obviously, it is susceptible to a variety of interpretations. In the only sense, however, in which its direction is clear to me—I could hope to be mistaken—I find it one of the thoroughly disconcerting documents, if not of the war, then of an aspect of contemporary intellectual life. For what Vercors seems to be saying is that if Nazism would only promise to preserve French culture, it could or would or should be made acceptable to the French; and by French culture he means purely and simply French art, the good French literature which the officer catalogues as he stands before his host's bookshelves.

There are no people in the story except the characters I have mentioned and one or two people to whom the officer refers; there are no *French* people except the narrator and his niece. By implication, there is no starvation or exploitation or murder or forced labor in the train of Nazism; there is only the outraged dignity of the spirit of French culture waiting to be properly appreciated. By further implication, there is no importance in the power of a political system over the multitudes of uncultivated people, there is even no connection between a nation's culture and its uncultivated people. In short, the intellectual class lives alone in a vacuum, and its sole purpose is the creation of more and more thought in a vacuum. By my reading, "The Silence of the Sea" is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the plea for the intellectual's position of special privilege.

Yet if a *reductio ad absurdum* can be valuable, this seems to me to be a valuable one. For here is a story which states boldly a point of view that lies deep in the attitude of certain sections of our intellectual life; it allows us to see the political folly to which the logic of this point of view must lead. Basically, that is, the isolationism-in-thought of "The Silence of the Sea" is identical with the isolationism-in-thought of those of our intellectuals and artists who insist that they have no share in the running of government or in the making and waging of wars. Have they then no share in the outcome of government and wars? If they have not, they must logically be prepared to welcome any political system so long as it allows them to function—even fascism. And this is a bitter irony; for if there is one thing which would horrify such intellec-

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tuals it is the accusation that they are reactionaries. Because they revere the internationalism of art and have no respect for the political units which are nations, even because they don't care enough about society to be bothered with its forms, they are able to masquerade to themselves as political liberals, even political radicals. But perhaps a story like "The Silence of the Sea" will suggest to them the way in which the notion of a cultural aristocracy can work out to be as strong an arm of political reaction as a hereditary social aristocracy.

DIANA TRILLING

## Faith, Hope, and Gusto

*UNDER THE BRIDGE.* By Ferris Greenslet. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

EVERY man and every book," Hippolyte Taine once wrote, "can be summed up in three pages, and those three pages can be summed up in three lines."

That remark, however sound it may seem to a literary editor in a time of paper shortage, looks wildly absurd to a reviewer who has in hand the autobiography of Ferris Greenslet—author, publisher, fisherman, traveler, *raconteur,* scholar, business man, *bon vivant,* gentleman, and artist. It would look absurd to Ferris Greenslet himself, although he too is a vigorous pruner of the vine of language. During the several years at the turn of the century in which he sat on the reviewing stand of *The Nation,* trying to "sum up" scores of poets, essayists, biographers, and historians as they hurried by, he learned the skill of literary compression. Undoubtedly, however, his hardest assignments were those in which he had to characterize just such books, if there were any, as this that he has now written—books with no predominant theme or topic, books about the "number of things" with which the world is proverbially replete, books in which the chief binding element was their "charm." Books of that kind refuse to be summed up in any fewer words than they contain. They are not meant for reviewers but for whatsoever seasoned and leisurely readers there may be left in this distracted world.

"Under the Bridge" shows that Ferris Greenslet has had an excellent style from which to refrain during the three decades in which he has published almost nothing of his own. That fact was long ago made clear by his study of Joseph Glanvill—a better book than he seems to realize. There, however, and to some extent in his later studies of Lowell, Aldrich, and Pater, one occasionally heard a languid echo of the eighteen-nineties, a rhythm or a euphony caressed for its own sake. Thus it was not entirely without reason that he was considered, on his first visit to London, "a child of the literary loins of Walter Pater." But now all the roses and raptures, the languors and lilies, are gone from his page, and he writes a prose, as pellucid as gin, which differs from the jog-trot of ordinary journalese in being more exact, more nimble, and easier on the educated ear. The beauty of the writing in his present book is unsought and intrinsic. In a phrase which he applies to another writer, he is now "a master of the magical word too few."

Ferris Greenslet got his literary training from Winchester of Wesleyan, Woodberry of Columbia, Wendell Phillips Garrison of *The Nation,* Bliss Perry of the *Atlantic Monthly,* and Charles Eliot Norton of Shady Hill. Under such tutelage, not to mention the great exemplars of the past which he more than most writers of our day keeps in mind, he could not fail to be a "stylist," good or bad. But a highly trained sense of style commonly brings a writer many more hours of torment than minutes of triumph. The weariness of his interminable fumbling not merely for the right word but for the precisely right rhythm and cadence, the pain of continually proffering unacceptable cacophonies to an ear grown morbidly sensitive and also tyrannical, is more than any but the martyrs of style such as Conrad and Flaubert can long endure. Does this suggest a reason why Ferris Greenslet turned aside from the writer's task thirty years ago and became a business man of letters? Or should one say that what might have been his literary career went down when the familiar essay, during the early months of the First World War, was *spurlos versenkt?*

An essayist he is, by gift and training, as almost any page of this autobiography will show. The color and climate of his mind suffuse the most heterogeneous objects, places, and persons. He has the quick sympathy and warmth of notice, the married wisdom and wit, the speed of thought issuing from leisure, of which good essays are made. He has both zest and taste—two diverse qualities brought together by Hazlitt's favorite word, gusto.

It has been said that "the corruption of a poet is the making of a critic," and perhaps one might hazard a similar suggestion about essayists and publishers. At any rate, the qualities of mind that make "Under the Bridge" a thoroughly delightful book are precisely those that a man would use in the discovery and promotion of books by other hands. For publishing, of course, besides being a business, is also an art and a hazardous form of sport. One of the main qualifications for success in it is a cautious and hard-headed gusto. And Ferris Greenslet has succeeded.

He seems to have been about equally concerned, during the last three decades, with fishing for trout and angling for manuscripts. Now both of these occupations require faith, hope, and gusto; but the greatest of these is gusto. "Under the Bridge" contains, in one paragraph, altogether the most amazing fisherman's yarn that the present reviewer has ever heard or read—and a peculiarity of it is that it must be true because no one could have imagined it. Another tale, equally astonishing and veracious, is that concerning the way in which Ferris Greenslet stalked the wily old bottom-hugging and weed-loving Henry Adams, trying him with all manner of wet flies, dry flies, and rolling casts until "The Education" lay in Houghton Mifflin's capacious creel, a veritable four-pounder. (The fact seems to be, however, that Adams never really rose to any fly that Greenslet tossed him. One fears that he was "snagged.")

Gusto backed by intelligence will take a man a long way. It has taken Ferris Greenslet many times across the Atlantic, has given him the freedom of London as well as of Boston, has led him up—not down—the amber brawl of a hundred brooks and rivers, has brought him the friendship of many people who write books, or try to write them, or have written them in the echoing past. Two-thirds of the men and women who have made their mark in the

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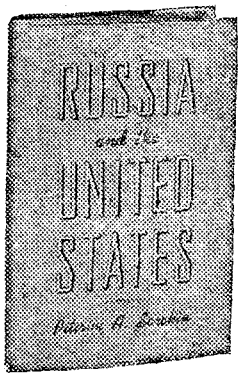


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writing of English during the last thirty years, he has known. Among other things, therefore, his book is a gallery of portraits, or rather of sketches swiftly but accurately drawn. For example, who could better this one sentence about Brander Matthews: "His cup was small, but he drank from his cup"?

Clearly, too, gusto can last a long while. It can survive the reading of fifty thousand manuscripts, most of them bad, and come up at the end with such a glowing tribute to one book as Ferris Greenslet here pays to Willa Cather's "Shadows on the Rock." It can make a man who is nearing seventy feel sure that the writing of our day is better than that which he knew in his youth, and also that the American writing of the years just ahead will be better still.

The unquestionable success of the life recorded in "Under the Bridge" has been due, one guesses, to the fact that Ferris Greenslet has always done pretty much what he wanted to do, and so has done it well. Good fortune has helped him, no doubt; but intelligent choice has played its part. His lines have been cast in pleasant places, but he has chosen his own streams and pools. And success, we know, is the reward of success. All his life he has tossed his flies into beauty, so that now it is right and just that he should be drawing them back over waters of peace where the striped bass come in with the tides of summer among the sedgy sea-meadows of Ipswich. ODELL SHEPARD

## Diary of Tomorrow

*TOMORROW ALWAYS COMES.* By Vernon Bartlett. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

READERS of *The Nation* have already appreciated Vernon Bartlett's ingenious Diary of the Future. They will want to have it in full, with introduction and conclusion. There is nothing fanciful about the book but the form and a few irrelevant details. No Utopia, but sober, and sobering, realism. Bartlett expresses the same misgivings as Motherwell, Brant, and a score of others; he has chosen to do so through a conscious pastiche of Harold Nicolson's "Peacemaking." Alas, that after twenty-five years we should still be so unsure of the morrow!

The common man everywhere wants the right thing—peace within the nations and among the nations through the abolition of privilege. For privilege can maintain itself only by force, and has to be challenged by force. The governments, "realistically," are utterly confused. "Unconditional surrender" is a perfect slogan, provided it is not an excuse for moral cowardice. After unconditional surrender, what? This we must ask ourselves and, in rough outline at least, tell our enemies. For our terms ought to be synonymous with what we are fighting for.

Bartlett sees three dangers ahead. The first is distrust among the major Allies. We have no confidence in the Russians, because they are Communists; but we have even less confidence in the British, because they are capitalists. What is to prevent them from doing exactly what we are planning to do—use the world crisis to win trade and establish supremacy?

The second danger is that the English-speaking powers are working insidiously but constantly in favor of the Euro-

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pean tories. "Legitimacy" and the fear of revolution are the excuses. Pershing, no radical himself, denounced that danger a quarter of a century ago. In Great Britain we find still in high places appeasers, partisans of Franco, and admirers of the late Mussolini. Our long amity with Vichy, our deal with Darlan, the unhappy Giraud-Peyrouton interlude are frankly ominous. To cap it all came the Little King-Badoglio imbroglio. Bartlett may be too optimistic when he believes that a tory regime, backed by American machine-guns, could not maintain itself for six months in Europe. What can unarmed mobs do against an organized force?

Of the third danger Bartlett is undoubtedly conscious; yet his thought remains a trifle vague. That danger is the Big Three (or Four) fallacy. It is bound to ruin the peace, for it is *Machtpolitik* naked and unashamed. Why should a second-rater be given a position of influence in the Council of the Nations, instead of, for instance, Benes or Hambro? If we have a common ideal, let us place at the top the men who can understand and serve it best. The Big Four system is sheer imperialism—the desire to impose (benevolently!) our will upon the little fellows. Imperialism must be resisted; but that resistance breeds nationalism, which, as Borgese puts it, is "of all heresies the deadliest." In an atmosphere of justice and reason nationalism loses its sting, turns into harmless cultural autonomy. Under the threat of force it becomes virulent again, with at least a semblance of holy wrath. I should hate to see nationalism, through our fault, flare up again as a fanatical faith.

The snubbing of the "little" nations will arouse—is arousing—hatred against us. To the average American, who does not understand how offensive our policy is, this resentment will appear as the blackest ingratitude. We shall once more wash our hands of an incorrigible Europe—until a new European conflagration reaches our shores again.

Many of the details are graphic and ingenious. There is a good plea, for instance, for a United Nations flag. Bartlett gives Hitler a useful hint: it is reported that the Führer has been flung into a great caldron of molten metal; thus identification will be impossible, and Adolf may walk off with shorn moustache. Bartlett revives the old cliché about the English lack of imagination—which would make Shakespeare, Dickens, Disraeli, Cecil Rhodes, and not a few others un-English. If the British did not despair in 1940, it is not because they were too dull-witted to know that they were licked but because they had imaginative faith in a phantom, the empire: "Now we are alone—the five hundred million of us!" The empire could not have saved England; but it gave her faith, and faith gained time. Time for America to wake up; time for Hitler to start his suicidal attack on Russia. Jules Romains has a great theory of *"la mystification créatrice."* A myth may win a day; it takes truth to win the day.

A generous, an entrancing book; and a wise one, although a little hesitant in tackling the main cause of evil. Bartlett himself is not quite free from the "global insularity" that goes with English speech. At any rate, he is vastly ahead of our governments.

ALBERT GUERARD

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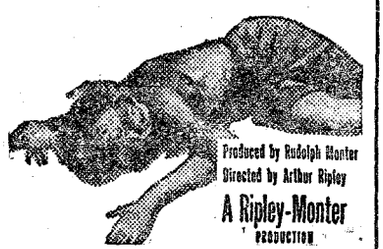

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# DRAMA

THE central character of "Jacobowsky and the Colonel" (Martin Beck Theater) has been making his way through the world for a long time. He is the eternal refugee, the "wandering Jew," one of those men I was told about as a child—men who had been alive since the time of Christ and would continue to pace the earth until the Last Judgment. He is a folk figure created out of who knows what desires, needs, beliefs. He is a great temptation to writers, and he can be an awful bore and a worse fraud, especially in the hands of a sentimentalist.

In the present play he is incarnated as a Polish Jew fleeing from the Germans, a man named Jacobowsky, for whom there are always "two possibilities." The part was outlined, I presume, by Franz Werfel, since the piece is based on a play by Werfel; it was filled in by S. N. Behrman; it is portrayed by Oscar Karlweis. And as a result of this lucky combination of sugar and salt and the magic of good acting the ancient character seems not so much created as released. Mr. Karlweis, by means of an unobtrusive skill and strong feeling, brings him to life; the plot gives him scope; and that old usurer, the age we live in, lends him an extra measure of intense reality—at the prevailing high rates.

Jacobowsky is the most interesting character on Broadway at the moment, with the possible exception of Iago. Unfortunately the company he keeps is not as good as it should be. In general, the casting, the acting, and the direction must be marked down as another set of hazards which the eternal wanderer has to overcome with his sharp wit and his old wisdom. The aristocratic Polish colonel, to whom he gives safe conduct to St. Jean de Luz because he, Jacobowsky, can't drive the car he manages to obtain, has neither the elegance nor the afflatus of "one of the finest minds of the fifteenth century." Louis Calhern looks and acts about as much like a Polish nobleman as the football players in "Rackety-Rax." As a result many of Mr. Behrman's best lines are muffed, and the rich possibilities of the contrast between S. L. Jacobowsky and Colonel (Don Quixote) Tadeusz Boleslav Stjerbinsky are largely unrealized—except in the champing imagination of the spectator. Annabella, as the French sweetheart of the Count, is quite colorless. The lisping Gestapo official borders on burlesque, but even so he is much more convincing than the Broadway Nazi played straight, and he is also amusing.

A good portion of the large cast is left behind in Paris in the first act, and that is just as well, for the French "types" are conceived and drawn with amazing gaucherie. Indeed, most of the first act might better have been abandoned altogether.

As for the play itself: at one point someone makes the old observation that the situation is hopeless but not serious. But that mood, which is the right mood, is not sustained. At intervals, as if the authors had not quite the courage to sustain it, they interrupt the play with solemn speeches, thereby diluting its essential seriousness—which is crystallized in its funniest lines.

MARGARET MARSHALL

# FILMS

"TUNISIAN VICTORY" is bound to be compared with "Desert Victory." That it suffers by comparison is by no means entirely the fault of the Englishmen and Americans who made it. "Desert Victory" started with great advantages, and took highly intelligent further advantage of each of them. History imposed upon the film a grand and simple form; it was possible to personify anonymous forces in two, rather than two dozen, opposing leaders who had the further advantage of being psychologically provocative figures; and the film was made under a single, focused control and for a single purpose. "Tunisian Victory" had to tell of a campaign much more complex, in political as well as military respects; it was apparently necessary to highlight, and bow and scrape to, every half-sized military wig in sight; the film suffered the liabilities of "full collaboration"; it evidently suffered too at the hands of people whose concern was purely political and propagandistic; and its makers were trying not only to give a short screen history of a vast and intricate action but at the same time to play international Gaston and Alphonse. The questionable political overtones of the invasion never so much as smudge the sound track—though one good look at the people involved is perhaps enough; the military story, on the other hand, is told so doggedly, with such textbookish wordiness, that the film never escapes for more than a few seconds at a time into the sort of pure tragic excitement which "Desert Victory" proved a war film can be. There are shots, and clusters of


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shots, as fine as any in the British film, but they never get a chance to gather cinematic momentum; the words, the verbalized facts, forever nag them to heel, and their competently edited heeling is no acceptable substitute. It was a mistake too, I think, to try to "humanize" American and English soldiers, whose screen faces hardly need that service, by means of two disembodied voices, one Cockney, one Kansas City, for they give the film the pseudo-democratic, demagogic coloration of most vernacular literature. "Tunisian Victory" is, in fact, at its worst whenever it tries to be "human" for humanity's sake; I, at least, felt that the people on the screen and in front of it were being unconsciously patronized, which is one cut worse than consciously; and judging by the run of British and American films I have seen, I feel pretty sure whose national disease that is. For the privilege of producing a Lincoln we have been paying through our tinhorn nose, in counterfeit kind, ever since we brought him down with a Roman phrase.

Beyond provoking friendly mention of ripe Ann Sheridan, decent Dennis Morgan, and shrewd S. Z. Sakall, "Shine On, Harvest Moon" offers nothing worth talking about. "Tender Comrade" —"wife," that means—is very much worth talking about, and I hope that adequate strength and space will coincide in a week or two. Meanwhile I can say only that it is one of the goddamnedest things ever seen.

JAMES AGEE

# MUSIC

THE people who think up programs for the New Friends of Music are incapable of distinguishing a neglected masterpiece from an unplayed work that deserves its obscurity; and there have been occasions to curse them for the dulness they have inflicted on me; but on the other hand I owe them my first experience of Mozart's marvelous Viola Quintet K.614 in E flat. And by a fortunate accident—since they are equally incapable of distinguishing excellent from mediocre in performers—I got my first impression of the work from an unforgettable performance by the Primrose Quartet, a group of N.B.C. Symphony string-players ( Shumsky, Gingold, Primrose, Shapiro) whose technical virtuosity produced for this high-spirited music textures of living sound that were astoundingly light and sharp. Since then I have heard the Quintet played at least three times by the Budapest Quartet, but surprisingly enough without the same lightness and sharpness, and therefore without the same effect.

The most recent occasion was the Budapest's final concert in its Y.M.H.A. series; and again there was the extraordinary change in the group's playing when it got to Beethoven—this time Opus 132 in A minor. As for the work it is notable for offering the most intense communication of the pain which the last quartets convey with their exaltation; and it has passages which are among the supreme moments of this group of works. One of these comes in the middle of the second movement, where the first violin, playing at a great height and as though at a great distance, displaces the awareness of the pain of this earth with a vision of a celestial joy. Another is the slow movement; and whereas the Cavatina of Opus 130 and slow movement of Opus 135 have tremendous impact from the brevity and concentration of their utterances, the famous *Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen* (Solemn Song of Thanksgiving of a Convalescent) of Opus 132 attains overwhelming stature and greatness through its expansive elaboration of form and content. The form is like that of the slow movement of Beethoven's Ninth Sympony: a long opening section, which recurs twice after an alternating section, and which is varied each time that it so recurs. The variation process which elaborates rhythm, figuration, texture, in this way intensifies meaning; and the illumination and exaltation are carried, the second time, to a point of superearthy ecstasy which, as far as I can recall, is not attained elsewhere in these last quartets.

Columbia's newly issued recording of the Budapest Quartet's performance of Opus 132 I shall report on next week.

A friend took me to hear the performance of "Falstaff" at which Leonard Warren replaced Tibbett in the title role. This was the first time I have heard Warren that he did not bawl his head off in a way that I have found painful to listen to; instead, employing the youthful beauty, freshness, flexibility, and ease of his voice with musical taste and discretion, he achieved one of the most impressive vocal performances I have heard in recent years. And he also acted the part well. In addition, freed of the burden it had had to carry, the entire performance had more ease and happiness. It had flaws: Harshaw's voice was inadequate for Dame Quickly; there was raggedness and strain in some of the ensembles. But it was an excellent performance of an extraordinarily beautiful work.

And here I can no longer keep myself from quoting Bernard Shaw. He had, he said, not gone to Milan for the first performance of "Falstaff," and therefore knew only what he had been able to get from looking through the score. And one must marvel at the critical powers which enabled him to perceive in this way that " 'Falstaff' is lighted and warmed only by the afterglow of the fierce noonday sun of 'Ernani'; but the gain in beauty conceals the loss in heat—if, indeed, it be a loss to replace intensity of passion and spontaneity of song by fulness of insight and perfect mastery of workmanship. Verdi has exchanged the excess of his qualities for the wisdom to supply his deficiencies; his weaknesses have disappeared with his superfluous force; and he is now, in his dignified competence, the greatest of living dramatic composers. It is not often that a man's strength is so immense that he can remain an athlete after bartering half of it to old age for experience; but the thing happens occasionally, and need not so greatly surprise us in Verdi's case, especially those of us who, long ago, when Von Bülow and others were contemptuously repudiating him, were able to discern in him a man possessing more power than he knew how to use, or indeed was permitted to use by the old operatic forms imposed on him by circumstances."

I am not a "true-blue, died-in-the-wool Savoyard" like my Boston correspondent who went to nine of the Gilbert and Sullivan Company's performances up there and wrote me an exhaustive evaluation of them which ended with the recommendation that if I went to only one let it be "The Gondoliers." I am merely a person who enjoys Gilbert and Sullivan and who enjoyed most of what I could see and hear of "The Gondoliers" from a very bad seat. The only really and intensely bad thing in the performance was the excruciating sounds produced by the young lady who sang Casilda, who I presume produces similar sounds in the other operas. The rest of the principals were good; the chorus sang better than it looked; the orchestra I was in no position to hear properly; the performance as a whole went off well.

B. H. HAGGIN

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# Letters to the Editors

## Fit to Forget

*Dear Sirs:* The severe editorial which appeared in the New York *Times* of February 4 opposing *Izvestia's* criticism of the Vatican entirely overlooked the known facts in the matter of the Vatican's consistent and necessary support of German militarism for the past one hundred years.

Apparently the person who wrote the editorial was unaware that the *Times* itself once castigated the Vatican in much more scathing terms than *Izvestia,* for the same reason, accurately prophesying that the issue "will be potent in molding the history of Europe for years to come." This editorial in the New York *Times* went so far as to call the Vatican's support of German militarism "the profound immorality of the temporal policy of the Church of Rome."

The editorial appeared in the *Times* of February 8, 1887, and is as follows:

All is grist that comes to the mills of Rome. The collision between the spirit of military absolutism and the spirit of parliamentary liberty in Germany, a contest watched with the deepest interest all over the world, and whose issue will be potent in molding the history of Europe for years to come, is viewed by the Pope merely as a welcome opportunity to improve the condition of the Roman Catholic church in Germany.

The party of the Center in the Reichstag is the Catholic party. Dr. Windthorst, who has been its leader throughout the long struggle against the May laws, is its leader now. He led the successful opposition to Bismarck's bill increasing the army and providing for its support for a period of seven years, commonly called the Septennate bill. When the Reichstag had rejected the bill and Bismarck had dissolved that body and a new general election had been ordered, Baron Frankenstein sent to Rome, through the Papal Nuncio at Munich, an inquiry as to the views and wishes of the Pope concerning the conduct of Catholics in the struggle. The Pope's reply is made in a letter written by Cardinal Jacobini: "That the Septennate question embraces religious and moral considerations which justify him in expressing the opinion that he may expect from the Center Party's conciliation toward the measure a beneficial effect in the final revision of the May laws." The Pope desires, moreover, "to meet the views of Emperor William and Bismarck, and thereby induce the powerful German Empire to improve the position of the papacy." . . .

Dr. Windthorst now declares (in an address delivered on Saturday at Cologne) that the Center Party knows what it is about much better than the Pope, and will fight the Septennate to the end. And the meeting he addressed adopted a resolution approving the course of the Catholic deputies of the Rhine provinces and urging their reelection.

One sentence of Dr. Windthorst's address reveals with pitiless and perhaps unintentional frankness the profound immorality of the temporal policy of the Church of Rome. "The Pope's advocacy of the Septennate bill," said Dr. Windthorst, "was independent of the merits of the measure, and arose from reasons of expediency and from political considerations." It would be difficult to frame a more accurate analysis of the papal motives while at the same time indicating a more sweeping denunciation of the papal policy. Liberal principles, the right of popular government, the German constitution, and its guaranty of parliamentary institutions, says the Pope, may go to the dogs if we can secure some further modification of the laws which relate to the church, and so improve the condition of the papacy in Germany.

The New York *Times's* dire prophecy came true, as the First and Second World Wars sadly testify. Pope Leo XIII's command to the Catholic Center Party in 1887 to aid militarism in Germany was a contributing factor to the First World War. Again in 1933, when the Vatican removed the Catholic Center Party as the only remaining obstacle to Hitler's rise to power, the Second World War began. How true it is that a strong militarist Germany is essential to the Vatican policy can be seen in the late Kaiser Wilhelm's "Memoirs," where he tells that on his visit to Pope Leo XIII the latter insisted with him that "Germany must become the sword of the Catholic church."

LEO H. LEHMAN

New York, February 14

## Vansittart Again

*Dear Sirs:* As a twenty-year subscriber and an associate of *The Nation* I feel compelled to write about the anti-Nazi Germans who write in the liberal press, particularly their references to Lord Vansittart.

These writers make me conclude that Lord Vansittart is correct when he says there is no difference between the left and right parties in Germany.

In *The Nation* of February 12, Fritz Sternberg says in his article, Germany, Economic Heart of Europe, "I shall not enter upon a discussion of the German character in this article; I would merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians, who have suffered most of all from German aggression, do not demand that Germany be dismembered; rather they demand that the groups which promoted aggression—the Junkers and the big industrialists—be destroyed."

In *The Nation* of January 1, 1944, Reinhold Niebuhr in his review of Lord Vansittart's book "Lessons of My Life" asks "why Lord Vansittart has become our modern Cato, crying that Carthage must be destroyed."

Also Franz Schoenberner in his attack on Emil Ludwig in the December, 1943, issue of the *Protestant* refers to "Lord Vansittart and all the other anti-Germanists working overtime as volunteers and honorary members of Dr. Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry."

It appears to me that the truth about Germany hurts these writers, as shown by the above sly attacks on Vansittart's book. Lord Vansittart says in his book, page 23, that he does not advocate persecution or extermination. He does not mention dismemberment or total destruction, which is the equivalent of a Carthaginian peace. Lord Vansittart takes a very generous view, in which he advocates the defeat, the demilitarization, occupation, and reeducation of Germany. I would take sterner measures. Vansittart would give the Germans a full life and a full larder.

It is difficult to know what these writers are up to. Let us beware of them.

In the article first referred to Fritz Sternberg says, "So it is to be hoped that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries." This can hardly be, for contrary to the first quotation, Russia will not allow East Prussia to exist. It will be divided between Poland and Russia so that Russia can protect its Baltic shore.

The frontiers of Germany after the war should be, in the west, the River Rhine, Holland, and the River Ems, in the south Switzerland, the River Inn, and the mountains of Czechoslovakia, in the east the River Oder. The part east of the Oder should go to Poland. In the north the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein should go back to Denmark. A reading of "The Mailed Fist, 1864-1939, the Background of Hitlerism," by S. L. G. Knox, published by Friends of Democracy, Inc., will show

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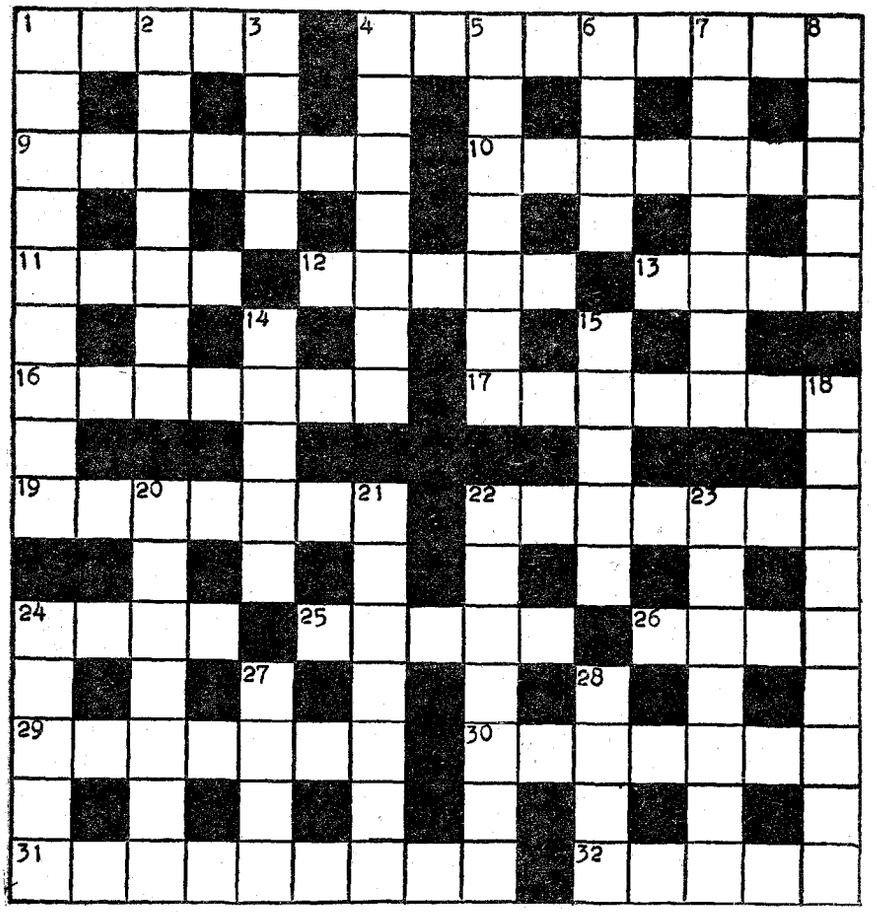
# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 57

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

1 It's hard to make this of some clues, I fear
4 Duke in *The Gondoliers* who led his regiment from behind; he found it less exciting (hyphen, 5-4)
9 Not in with the team, and not in without the team
10 Just bury him in the meantime, as a Cockney might put it
11 Is almost out of sight after being driven home
12 Employer of idle hands
13 An outlandish place to land
16 Naïve young actress, *a la Francaise*
17 There's nothing like it!
19 By no means verbose
22 The car is put to bed
24 In the midst of life we are in ----
25 Birthplace of Fascism
26 Indigo blue
29 "This meat is too high for me; I cannot attain unto it"
30 You have one before you now
31 To be so gloomy would turn one insane
32 She is younger than Helen by a thousand years, at least

## DOWN

1 This bird makes it clear that you have to pay for even a little love-making
2 The sage wrote of the indolent but agreeable condition of doing this
3 Throw out—time's up!
4 Church dignitary who starts early but finishes behindhand
5 A lady's maid, not a large beer
6 This voice should be altogether reduced
7 Terrifying: no wonder a G.I. horse is upset!
8 Sea shell, but not the kind fired from a naval gun
14 Annie becomes silly
15 Hirsute
18 Hardy describes this old tradesman as a "blood-colored figure"
20 A political one shouldn't be wooden
21 Don't call this wine "red ink" in an Italian's hearing
22 Fine to be at ease, for a Castilian nobleman
23 Tom Thumb's rank
24 The man of capital is not afraid to plunge
27 A fallen star
28 May mean a good deal

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 56

ACROSS:—1 GNASH; 4 AUK; 6 MINIM; 9 MATINEE; 10 ENRAGED; 11 NICKEL; 14 TENETS; 15 RECOVER; 16 NOES; 17 STUD; 19 ORATORS; 20 PETE; 22 RAIN; 24 DECAYED; 26 FODDER; 27 RAVENS; 31 EJECTOR; 32 CHARING; 33 OTTER; 34 TON; 35 ENACT.

DOWN:—1 GAMIN; 2 ARTICLE; 3 HUNGER; 4 AYES; 5 KEEN; 6 MURDER; 7 NEGLECT; 8 MIDAS; 12 LEARNER; 13 POSTMAN; 14 TERRIER; 16 NAP; 18 DIN; 21 TIDIEST; 23 AMERICA; 24 DEBTOR; 25 DAMAGE; 26 FUEGO; 28 SIGHT; 29 WRIT; 30 SCAN.

why it is necessary to arrive at these boundaries.

While on the subject of preventing a "soft" peace for Germany a word of warning might be given about pleas for a "just" peace emanating from the Vatican.

We must all do everything in our power to stamp out this German brutality and its menace to humanity.

HAROLD C. CLAUSEN

Pittsburgh, Pa., February 13

## Hell-bent for Reaction

*Dear Sirs:* I. F. Stone's article in your issue of March 4 is one of the finest things I have ever read. But in a country hell-bent for reaction it will hardly be enough to turn the tide.

One can see why the "big boys" are leading on with the very measures that are going to enrich and help them at every turn, but just why the vast numbers of the middle class and even many of the workers subscribe to the things that will prove their own destruction God only knows; I don't.

I am fearful that it will take far less than ten years to prove how eminently right Mr. Stone is today.

J. G. MASTERS

Smethport, Pa., March 5

## *CONTRIBUTORS*

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WILLARD PRICE, author of "American Influence in the Orient," was one of the few white men who visited Japan's mandated islands in the years just before the war. His article in this issue is adapted from a chapter of a new book, "Japan's Islands of Mystery," to be published shortly by John Day.

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ODELL SHEPARD, professor of English at Trinity College, won the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1937 with "Pedlar's Progress: the Life of Bronson Alcott."

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